



TRIPOLITANIA
UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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In memory of my brothers

MOHAMED FADIL ELMAYER

&

OTMAN FADIL ELMAYER

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ABSTRACT

The reason the subject is chosen within this period is that an adequate study has never been given to it, probably because of the rarity of the references and the difficulty of their languages and the paucity of the specialists in this period of Libyan ancient history. So, as far as the writer is aware, no synthesis of materials is available in English. The fact that many publications have been utilised gives this project a claim to be regarded as up to date. The work is divided into two parts. The first consists of five chapters:

Chapter I deals with the conditions of the region before Roman rule (46 B.C.).

Chapter II is concerned with the civil war and its effects on the region of Tripolitania. Light is thrown on the political history of Tripolitania during the period from Julius Caesar to Augustus (47 B.C. to 14 A.D.). In this Chapter the Roman policy towards the region, taken by Caesar, and the re-arrangement of the Numidian Kingdom by Augustus and its relationships with the region is discussed.

Chapter III deals in detail with the revolts of the indigenous people of the conquered districts and the Roman attempts to quell these risings.

Chapter IV is concerned with political conditions of the region under the Antonine regime from Trajan to Commodus and treats the tribal limitatio and settlement.

II

Chapter V deals with the conditions of the region under the Severan emperors from Septimius Severus to Alexander Severus (A.D. 193 - 235). The political attitude of the founder of this regime, Septimius Severus, and his successors, from this family, towards the region is looked into, together with the defensive system (limes Tripolitanus) which he had initiated and which was completed by his successors (Chap. VI).

The fifty years following the assassination of Alexander Severus (235 - 285 A.D.) saw the decline of the Roman Empire economically, politically and socially. During this period the throne was much contested.

The second part of this thesis is concerned with the important aspects of civilization of the region under the Roman rule.

Chapter VI is a comprehensive study of the limes Tripolitanus in the region, in its historical context and it is concerned with the dating of the fortifications in southern Tripolitania.

Chapter VII is concerned with the administrative organization of Roman Tripolitania and special attention is paid to the municipal development and the existence of Punic administration in the Roman period, at least till Hadrian's time.

Chapter VIII, a study of the economy of Roman Tripolitania and technical in nature, is concerned with agricultural, industrial and commercial advances made in this period (47B.C.-235A.D.) and also with the trade routes used.

III

Chapter IX deals in detail with the local culture and the co-existence of the languages, Latin, Punic and Libyan in the region during this period. Also the contribution of some African writers to Latin literature is discussed.

With this chapter there are two appendixes for Neo-Punic and Latino-Punic inscriptions. These inscriptions have not been gathered in an up-to-date corpus (like IRT), though some of them have been the subject of several philological studies. However attempts to render some of these texts in their entirety have not been wholly successful, and a new study is called for.

PREFACE

This thesis has been written in an attempt to describe the important aspects of Roman civilisation in Tripolitania and to define the principles which governed the development of the region under the Roman Empire.

In spite of the many excellent studies which exist of the development of Roman Africa there may yet be a place for one which tries to define the political events, military defensive system, administrative organisation, economic position of the region during this period and cultural life.

My greatest debt has been to my supervisor, Professor Fergus Millar, for his constant encouragement, for his unerringly sound criticism of excess in style, concept and detail.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<u>Antiquites Africaines.</u>
AC	<u>Archeologica Classica.</u>
AE	<u>L'Anné Epigraphique.</u>
AESC	<u>Annales Economics, Societes, Civilisations.</u>
AF	<u>Archaeologia Forchungen.</u>
AI	<u>Africa Italiana.</u>
AIN	<u>Annali dell Istituto Orientale di Napoli.</u>
AJ	<u>Antiquaries Journal.</u>
Albo	<u>Barbieri, G., Albo Senatorio da Septimio Severo a Carino.</u>
ANW	<u>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romischen Welt (H.Tempo-rini ed.).</u>
AR	<u>Africa Romana.</u>
Aug	<u>Augustinianum.</u>
BAH	<u>Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques.</u>
BAC	<u>Nuovo Bollettino di Archeologia Christiana.</u>
BAI	<u>Bollettino d' arte del Ministro della publica iscrizione, Roma.</u>
BCTH	<u>Bulletin du Comité des Travaux Historiques du Ministère d'instructione publique et des beaux-arts, Paris.</u>
BMC	<u>Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum.</u>
CAH	<u>Cambridge Ancient History.</u>
CEFR	<u>Collection de L'école Francaise de Rome.</u>
CHAfr	<u>Cambridge History of Africa, ed. J.D. Fage and R. Oliver (Cambridge, 1975).</u>
CIL	<u>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum.</u>
CIS	<u>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.</u>
CNRS	<u>Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique.</u>
CP	<u>Classical Philology.</u>

- COWL A. Cowley, *Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923.
- CRAI Comptes-Rendus de l'Academie des inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
- CT Les cahiers de Tunisie. Tunisie, Faculte des Lettres.
- CTh Codex Theodosianus.
- DISO CH. F. Jean-J. HOFTIJZER, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions semitiques de l'Ouest*, Leiden 1960.
- EAAC Enciclopedia dell. Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale.
- ERI Epigraphica Rivista Italiana.
- ESAR Economic Survey of Ancient Rome (vol.IV (ed. by T.Frank, Rome, 1938).
- FER Federal Economic Review.
- GB Grazer Beiträge Zeitschrift für die Klassische Altertumswissenschaft. Graz, Inst. für Klass. Philol. der Universität.
- GJ The Geographical Journal, London, Geographical Society.
- GLEC Groupe Linguistique des Étude Chamito-Sémitiques Comptes Rendus, 10 (1965).
- GM The Geographical Magazine.
- HA Historia Augusta.
- Hom. Ren. Hommages à Marcel Renard, ed. Jacqueline Bibauw, Collection Latomus, t.102,11, Paris (1969).
- IGRR R. Cagnat, J. Toutain, P. Jouget, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (1901-1927).
- ILAF R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, L. Châtelain, *Inscriptiones Latines d'Afrique* (1923).
- ILAlg S. Gsell, G. Pflaum, *Inscriptiones Latines de l'Algerie*, (1927 and 1957).
- ILS H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (1892-1916).
- ILT A. Merlin, *Inscriptiones Latines de la Tunisie*, 1944.
- IRT *Inscriptiones of Roman Tripolitania* (1952)
- JA *Journal Asiatique*.
- JAH *Journal of African History*.

VIII

JAOS	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</u>
JBAA	<u>Journal of the British Archaeological Association.</u>
JRS	<u>Journal of Roman Studies.</u>
JSS	<u>Journal of Semitic Studies.</u>
KRAEL	<u>E.G. Kraeling, The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri</u> New Haven, 1953.
LA	<u>Libya Antiqua.</u>
LIH	<u>Libya in history</u> 1963 (ed. by F. Gadallah (Benghazi 1971)).
LS	<u>Libyan Studies.</u> (Annual reports of the Society for Libyan Studies).
MAAR	<u>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.</u>
MAI	<u>Memoires de L'Académie d'inscriptions et belles lettres.</u>
MEFR	<u>Melanges d'archéologie et d'histoire</u> (Ecole Francaise de Rome).
MELGUS	<u>Mélanges d'archéologie et histoire offerts à Gustave Glotz,</u> t.1, Paris (1932) pp.399-415.
MSAF	<u>Mémoires de La Société nationale des antiquaires de France.</u>
MOS	<u>Michigan Oriental Studies in honour of G.G. Cameron</u> (1976).
NA	<u>Notiziario Archeologico.</u>
NAM	<u>Nouvelles archives des Missions Scientifiques et</u> <u>Archéologiques.</u>
NC	<u>Nigeria and the Classics.</u>
NSI	R.G.A. Cooke, <u>A textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions,</u> Oxford, 1903.
OA	<u>Oriens Antiquus</u> , 2(1963)3-94.
OAC	G.C. Polsilli, 'Per un corpus delle Inscrizioni latino-puniche' <u>Orientis Antiqui Collectio</u> , XIII (1976) pp.231-241.
PBSR	<u>Papers of the British School at Rome.</u>
PE	<u>Diocletian's Price Edict.</u>
PECS	<u>Princeton Encyclopedia of Classica Sites.</u>
PIR	<u>Prosopographia Imperii Romani.</u>
PPP	M. Szynger, <u>Les passages Puniques en Transcription</u> <u>Latine Dans Le "Poenulus" De Plaute</u> Paris(1967).
QAL	<u>Quaderni di archéologia della Libya.</u>

RA	<u>Revue Africaine.</u>
R. Arch.	<u>Revue archéologiaque.</u>
RANL	<u>Rendiconti della accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.</u>
REA	<u>Revue des Études Anciennes.</u>
REG	<u>Revue des etudes Grecques.</u>
RES	<u>Semitica, Cahiers Publies par L'Institut d'Etudes Semitiques de L'universite de Paris.</u>
RM	<u>Reports and Monographs of the Department of Antiquities in Tripolitania.</u>
RSAC	<u>Recueil des Notices et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Constantine. Constantine, Ed. Braham.</u>
RSO	<u>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</u>
RT	<u>Rivista della Tripolitania, iii (Roma 1927).</u>
SEG	<u>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.</u>
SEHRE	<u>M.E. Rostovtzeff (Revised by P.M. Fraser) Social and economic history of the Roman Empire 2 vols (1957).</u>
SM	<u>Studi Magribini.</u>
TAPHA	<u>Transactions of the American Philological Association.</u>
ZDMG	<u>Zetschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.</u>

CHAPTER I

Conditions in the Region Before Roman Rule

When the struggle or competition between Carthage and Greece ended a similar struggle between Rome and Carthage took place. The latter was called the Punic War which ended in 146 B.C. with the crushing of Carthage and the beginning of Roman domination in North Africa. The reason for this seems to have been competition for economic and political power in the Mediterranean region. In addition to that the Carthaginian intervention in Sicily was an important factor.¹ Therefore, the rivals may have rushed to secure this position but their motives were different; "...Defensive imperialism dominated Rome's policy, an exploiting commercial imperialism actuated Carthage."²

The Carthaginians tried hard to prevent the Romans from coming to North Africa, but they failed. The Romans embarked at Clupea east of Hippo-Regius (Anabah) and conquered Africa (Tunisia). This conquest did not last long as the Carthaginians were able to defeat their enemies and get back the land.³

Carthage was defeated by the Romans in the Second Punic War (218-202 B.C.). In this war Hannibal, the Carthaginian leader, crossed the Alps and invaded Italy and almost defeated the Roman army and conquered Rome. Although the Carthaginian leader was successful at the beginning of this campaign, in the end he was defeated by Scipio Africanus, the Roman leader who persuaded the senate to agree to his plan to transfer the war to Africa. There he defeated his enemy in a decisive battle at Zama in the year 202 B.C.⁴ The help of his ally Massinissa, chief of the Massyli berbers and masters of the area

between Cirta (Constantine) and the western boundary of the Carthaginian state, assured his success in this battle (Zama).⁵

After this victory Scipio made a treaty with Carthage whose terms included⁶: the cession of Spain, the payment of a heavy indemnity and the reduction of the Carthaginian fleet to ten ships. At the same time, the Romans planned to prevent a second Carthagian resurgence in Africa by encouraging their ally Massinissa's territorial ambitions at her expense. Carthage was allowed to retain the territories possessed in B.C. 218 including the Tripolitanian Emporia, yet ceded to Massinissa his ancestral possessions within limits to be designated.⁷

Moreover, Massinissa was given the right to regain the possessions of all lands and cities which had at one time been under him or his ancestors' rule.⁸ No such agreed designation was reached. The 'Phoenician trenches' specified by Appian are probably the invention of a late annalist.⁹

It seems that this failure to establish a frontier and the additional aim of this vague clause was a "Machiavellian stroke on Rome's part",¹⁰ to embroil Massinissa and Carthage, so that the latter might be perpetually distracted by hostile incursions.¹¹ More probably, the claims of the two sides were so divergent that an agreed line of demarcation was impossible to reach.¹² Also there was an ambiguity about the Carthaginian right of self defence. Although the Romans did not intend to deny them their right to protect their territories, there was a clause which forbade them to make a war without Roman permission.¹³

Thus the Second Punic War had ended with the defeat of Carthage at Zama and the peace terms mentioned above which were designed to confirm her dependence on Rome and to confine her activities to her North African possessions. The chief gainer by the peace treaty was not Rome, who saw no need to annex territory for herself in Africa, but her

ally Massinissa, king of Numidia, who became equal in dignity and power to any king in the whole world.

Undoubtedly the peace terms gave Massinissa the opportunity to achieve his ambitions to build a vast Libyan kingdom which would extend from Mauritania to Cyrenaica, and whose capital would be Carthage.¹⁴ During the half-century which followed the end of the war, Massinissa took advantage of his friendship with Rome and the defenceless state of Carthage to devote all his efforts to realising his visions of a united Libyan kingdom. A statesman as well as a warrior, 'he turned', says Strabo, "nomads into farmers and welded them into a state". His success was largely due to the dissemination among the Libyan tribesmen of Phoenician methods of agriculture and government. But the existence of an independent Carthage, however helpless, was a thorn in his flesh, and he started a series of steady encroachments on Carthaginian territories the peace treaty had left in her possession. The Carthaginians were forbidden by the treaty to make war even in self-defence; in vain the defenceless city appealed to Rome against each new act of aggression but Rome none the less decided in Massinissa's favour.¹⁵

Massinissa's tactical policy was to achieve local gains and then to counteract Carthaginian complaints at Rome by preferring alleged evidence of dangerous political tendencies or military preparations at Carthage. He carefully observed Roman policies in Greece and Asia, and decided that the risk of Roman interference in Africa was minimal, provided that he paraded his loyalty to Rome and restrained his larger ambitions.

Two regions in particular excited his acquisitive interest. First there was the Bagradas valley¹⁶, an intensively cultivated area thickly populated with village communities. Secondly, there were the

Emporia, the Carthaginian market-towns in the vicinity of the lesser Syrtis. The region was rich in olive plantations and was also important commercially for its trade with Central Africa; so that high taxes could be levied on it.¹⁷

Although there are differences between ancient historians¹⁸ regarding the timing of Massinissa's incursions, it seems that the first minor attacks against the Emporia region were in B.C. 195-3¹⁹ and they were made when Rome's eyes were turned anxiously towards Africa.²⁰ He took the chance that Rome was engaged in battle with Antiochus and the absence of the Carthaginian leader Hannibal and invaded the Emporia.²¹ Some have assumed that these operations were against settlements to the south and west of the towns of the Emporia familiar to Massinissa from his exile there in 205 B.C., when he took refuge in this region after his defeat at the hands of Syphax.²²

On the pretext of pursuing a rebel called Aphter who had escaped to Cyrenaica he asked Carthage for permission to cross Tripolitania but meeting with a refusal he openly declared war and occupied the Gefara plain, but he failed to occupy the cities which were able to stand against him.²³ Romanelli says that the success of the king was due to the support he got from Libyan inhabitants located in the inner parts of the country which could not be defended. But the situation was different for the cities which could easily be defended by the troops sent from Carthage.²⁴ Livy says that the king occupied the whole region and compelled the inhabitants to pay tribute to him instead of Carthage.²⁵

This was the back-drop to the first Carthaginian-Numidian dispute at Rome in 193 B.C.

Meantime, the Carthaginians sent urgent representations to Rome, the Numidians did the same, and at length the Carthaginians succeeded

in convincing the Senate to send a commission of inquiry. The delegation appointed by the Senate and headed by Scipio Africanus made no recommendation and the problem stayed without solution.²⁶

Livy cannot decide whether this was senatorial policy or local decision, but he claimed that Scipio could easily have settled the dispute if he wanted to.²⁷ This underestimates the difficulty. Some said that it seems that he probably felt that there was equity in the Carthaginian case, and a favourable decision would have eased Roman fears of a possible Carthaginian liaison with Antiochus.²⁸ But Scipio's intimacy with Massinissa made such a decision impossible especially as the king was demonstrating his loyalty to Rome by gifts of grain and cavalry.²⁹ Hence the Commission's temporizing. But Scipio may well have warned Massinissa against further aggression and it is perhaps significant that no further incursions took place in the lifetime of Africanus who died in 183. The next dispute in 182, probably in the area of the Bagradas Valley,³⁰ must again have been of a minor nature. Again a Roman Commission was sent, but again it reached no decision. In any case Roman policy during this period towards Carthage was conciliatory and relations were excellent.³¹ Rome's desire to maintain cordial relations was shown by the return of a hundred hostages and the establishment of peace-terms against further Numidian aggression.³²

The third Macedonian war was a turning point in Roman attitudes towards Africa. Massinissa promised to supply Rome with auxiliary forces³³ and a million pecks of wheat (171-170 B.C.) and he aroused Rome's suspicion that the Carthaginians were building a fleet in contravention of the treaty of 201 B.C.³⁴ Rome's partiality became explicit in the ensuing territorial disputes, Polybius mentioned that Rome favoured Massinissa in the adjudication of disputes becomes justifiable after Pydna.³⁵

In the year 161 B.C. Massinissa continued his expansionist policy, trying to seize the Emporia, but it seems that he found resistance similar to that which occurred the first time, in 193 B.C.³⁶

Meanwhile, the Carthaginians sent envoys to Rome asking the senate unavailingly for help. But again Rome supported her ally Massinissa, king of Numidia, and Carthage was ordered to surrender the Tripolitanian Emporia to the king and pay him 500 talents which she received as a tribute from the region and also for their wrongful detention.³⁷

In spite of the Senate's decision which ordered Carthage to hand over the Emporia to the king, it seems that he did not get all the cities as Carthage succeeded in retaining some of them.³⁸

Appian says that Carthage was in control of some parts of the region until 151 B.C., but in 150 B.C. Massinissa managed to make himself master of the whole region which extended from Morocco to the Cyrenaican borders at Arae Philaenorum.³⁹

Polybius mentioned that the Emporia was handed over to Massinissa before 161 B.C., but Livy says that this was in 193 B.C.⁴⁰ This difference has led to a lot of discussion between historians; some⁴¹ have not accepted what Livy said, while others⁴² tried to find a better solution, but none of them mentioned reasons which support his idea. Moreover, they did not agree on the details regarding the point. Thus Gsell⁴³ says that the problem should stay without solution and Romanelli agrees.⁴⁴ It seems that Massinissa in his first attempt in 193 B.C. was able to occupy some parts of the region (Tripolitania) but not the main cities, Leptis Magna, Oea and Sabratha.

In his second attempt in 161 B.C., although he got the support of the Senate, he was not able to occupy the main towns which were able to stand against him, but in 150 B.C. he succeeded in annexing the whole

Emporia to his kingdom.⁴⁵ But Lepcis eventually retained a considerable degree of autonomy, 'Imperia, Magistratum et leges'.⁴⁶ For Carthage subsequently lost not only the Emporia but also large areas of the Bagradas Valley. Carthage made strenuous diplomatic efforts to have Massinissa dislodged from her most fertile territories.

Between 160 and 152 B.C. three Commissions were sent by Rome. The second was in 153, headed by Cato who was known for his hatred of Carthage. On his arrival, he demanded that both sides accept his decision in advance. Bitter experience and the identity of the Chief Commissioner led Carthage to refuse.⁴⁷

When Cato returned, he was impressed with Carthaginian resurgence, and claimed in the Senate that military preparations were under way there.⁴⁸ When the problem was discussed in the Senate Scipio Nasica opposed the war. At last his viewpoint was accepted and he was appointed as a head of the third delegation (in the year 152 B.C.), which remonstrated with Carthage and induced Massinissa to withdraw from disputed territories.⁴⁹ Owing to Cato's propaganda in the Senate and Massinissa's claim that military preparations were being made at Carthage, the Senate sent the delegates to investigate the situation and they reported back in 151 confirming these military preparations. Rome demanded that these should be disbanded.⁵⁰

Meanwhile forty supporters of Massinissa were expelled from Carthage, the Numidian King resumed his depredations and attacked the Carthaginian town Oroscopa near to Vaga.⁵¹ The Carthaginians retaliated with an army under Hasdubal who proceeded not only to counter-attack but also to invade Numidian territories contrary to stipulation of the treaty of 201 B.C. Although the Numidian losses were great, Massinissa won a notable victory.⁵² By now, however, the situation was seriously felt even in Rome.

If Massinissa made himself master of all North Africa, might he not prove as dangerous a rival as Carthage?⁵³ In 150 B.C. matters came to a head when Massinissa deliberately challenged Carthage to take the law into her own hands and hit back at him with an improvised army, which he easily defeated. This defeat which Carthage suffered enabled him to occupy the Emporia and to advance his frontier to within sixty miles of the city of Carthage itself. When the Romans saw that, they acted quickly to forestall their ally. By this ^{war} Carthage committed a formal breach of the treaty's terms,⁵⁴ and laid herself open to a demand from Rome that the Carthaginians should either evacuate their city and migrate to some place at least ten miles from the coast, or else stay there and accept the consequences. But the Carthaginians did not agree to the Roman orders to evacuate their town and they decided on resistance. They started levying troops and new arms were made for 20,000 men who defended the town. The so-called Third Punic War which followed consisted of little more than a prolonged seige of Carthage; three years later (146 B.C.) the city was razed to the ground.⁵⁵

Thus the Romans acted on the advice of the aged politician Porcius Cato, who had been repeating for years: "delenda est Carthago"⁵⁶. He also on a certain day brought into the curia an early ripe fig from that province and showing it to the Senators said, 'Let me ask you when you think this fruit was taken from the tree'. When they all agreed that it was fresh he said 'As a matter of fact it was picked at Carthage two days ago, so near to our walls do we have an enemy'; and then there followed the third Punic War in which Carthage was destroyed.

It seems that there were some who approved the action of the Romans, saying that they had taken wise and statesman-like measures in defence of their empire. For to destroy this source of perpetual menace, this city which had constantly disputed the supremacy with them and was still able to dispute it, if it had the opportunity, and thus to secure

the dominion of their own country, was the act of intelligent and far seeing men.⁵⁸

The discussion of the Carthagian problem in the Senate before it resolved to destroy the city of Carthage, indicated that Rome was actuated by political motives more than anything else.⁵⁹

Whatever territory was still left to her - about 5000 square miles - was annexed as a Roman province⁶⁰ (Africa Vetus) to prevent Massinissa occupying it, and a continuous ditch, the fossa regia of Scipio⁶¹ was dug to mark the boundary between the province and the Numidian kingdom, which extended from Morocco to the Grand Sirtian Gulf.⁶²

What remained after the destruction of the most important Libyan Phoenician cities was the impact of Punic civilisation, which spread widely among the Berbers during Massinissa's reign, and the Punic language.⁶³

Massinissa had died in the first year of the war, 148 B.C.⁶⁴ and did not live to see Carthage demolished. He was also spared seeing the policies of his Roman allies which caused the failure of his aspirations to build a united Libyan kingdom. Rome, in the first year of the final Third Punic War arranged for control of the Numidian kingdom to be divided between his three sons⁶⁵. Scipio Aemilianus was elected to settle this matter, and he placed the eldest son, Micipsa, in control of Cirta, the former capital (also he was given the responsibility of the treasury), Gulussa, the armed forces, and Mastanabal administering the law.⁶⁶

Micipsa abandoned his father's expansionist policy but continued to encourage agriculture and sedentary ways of life. He minted coins on which he put the figure of his father, encouraged the trade and organized the towns, especially Cirta which was provided with

"everything" says Strabo.⁶⁷

Under the new king, the Tripolitanian Emporia enjoyed considerable freedom; although they paid the same tribute which they had paid to Carthage, but they were otherwise allowed to govern themselves in accordance with their laws and customs. Sallust⁶⁸ ascribes the Numidian government's tolerant treatment of the Emporia to their distance from Cirta (Constantine in Algeria), the Numidian capital. But it may well have been deliberate policy on Micipsa's part not to disturb these eastern outposts of Phoenician civilisation.⁶⁹

For the Emporia, The most beneficial result of Numidian rule was that it released them from the isolation in which they had been kept by Carthage, and brought them into the orbit of Rome. Growing trade with Italy and the Mediterranean world brought the Emporia under Roman economic influence.

Roman businessmen were already beginning to settle in Tripolitania - a Roman banker named Herennius is recorded at Leptis Magna in the first half of the first century B.C. He was engaged in importing and exporting between Sicily and North Africa.⁷⁰ Some⁷¹ have believed that this trade was in medical plants, but others have contradicted this, asserting that it was the same trade in which the Emporia were dealing during Carthaginian rule.⁷²

The death of Micipsa's brothers left him as the sole ruler of united Numidia into which he absorbed the western part which had been given to the descendents of Syphax⁷³. He was not as competent as his father to run his large kingdom, which extended from Morocco to the Cyrenaican borders at Arae Philenorum.⁷⁴

As he was absorbed with education, especially aspects of philosophy,⁷⁵ and also his sons Hiempsal and Adherbal were still young, he left most of the actual work of government to Jugurtha, who was brave, had good

talents and was popular with his people.⁷⁶ Upon Micipsa's death in 118 B.C.⁷⁷ his kingdom was left jointly to Micipsa's sons Adherbal and Hiempsal, and to his nephew Jugurtha. This "Troika" was not to last long.⁷⁸ The ambitious and unscrupulous Jugurtha began his reign by murdering Hiempsal and driving out Adherbal. This made him the master of the whole of Numidia in the year 116 B.C.⁷⁹ The surviving prince was forced to take refuge in the Roman province.⁸⁰ Adherbal sent his envoys to Rome to seek redress, but Jugurtha with gold and precious gifts⁸¹ had bought friends among the Roman nobility, and his envoys to the Roman senate explained that Hiempsal was responsible for this war, and was killed by his soldiers and Jugurtha had nothing to do with his murder; the senate compromised by dividing the kingdom between the cousins, the eastern half with Tripolitania, Cirta and Rusicade⁸² going to Adherbal, the rich western part to Jugurtha in 117 B.C.⁸³

Before long, however, Jugurtha resumed his operations against Adherbal and defeated him at Rusicade, and then beseiged him in Cirta for five months.⁸⁴ Again, Adherbal sought help from the Senate. The latter sent out a delegation headed by M. Aemilius Scaurus who did not like Jugurtha.⁸⁵

The king met the delegation at Utica (Tunis); in spite of his diplomacy and tact no workable agreement developed due to the stubbornness of both sides.⁸⁶

The delegation went back to Rome. Meanwhile Cirta was unable to resist and eventually fell into the hands of Jugurtha. The latter not only tortured Adherbal and killed him, but also massacred a number of Italian settlers who took part in defending their town.⁸⁷ These atrocities provoked public opinion to force the Senate to declare war against Jugurtha. As Jugurtha failed this time to bribe the influential members of the Senate, his envoys to the Senate were driven

out of Rome within ten days.⁸⁸

The war began (111 B.C.) with a series of Roman reverses. The Senatorial generals were openly alleged to be in Jugurtha's pay.⁸⁹ The first expedition led by Calpurnius Bestia was unsuccessful and the war was short lived. It finally ended by signing an unworthy treaty with Rome.⁹⁰ The next year another expedition led by the proconsul Albinus was also defeated by Jugurtha. He then compelled the Romans to evacuate Numidia and to recognise him as a Roman ally. After these failures the proconsul Q. Caecilius Metellus was appointed to command the Roman army in Africa. He was honest, trustworthy and with the aid of his assistants (legati), P. Rutilius Rufus and Gaius Marius, Metellus succeeded in bringing back discipline to the army.⁹¹

In spite of his efforts this expedition also failed and he was accused of prolonging the war to gain popularity. As a result he was replaced by his legatus Gaius Marius who was the leader of the popular party at Rome. After careful preparations for the battle he began capturing the Numidian towns. In a decisive battle he was able to defeat the allied Numidian and Mauritanian forces.⁹² Finally the war ended when Marius' legatus L. Sulla was able to trap Jugurtha through King Bocchus I of Mauretania - Jugurtha's father-in-law who handed him over to his enemy. Jugurtha was taken to Rome where he was strangled in the prison of the Capitol; Bocchus was rewarded by the addition of Western Numidia to his kingdom; the country of Massiliensi (Whran, Algeria) bordered on his kingdom. Jugurtha promised his father-in-law, Bocchus I to grant him this country as reward if he helped him against the Romans.⁹³

Although Tripolitania's role in the war was slight, the province had to supply Jugurtha with arms and recruits.⁹⁴ Lepcis, meantime had seen where her advantage lay in the war. Shortly after their inter-

vention she sent envoys to ask the Romans for a friendship and alliance, which was readily granted. Oea and Sabratha probably obtained similar treaties at the same time.⁹⁵ Although the other two cities had followed the lead of Lepcis in seeking friendship with Rome they were still nominally part of the Numidian kingdom, which tried from time to time to bring them back under its control.

To prove its sincerity and goodwill Lepcis supplied armaments to the Roman generals, C. Bestia, P. Albinus and Q. Metellus.⁹⁶ In 106 B.C. Lepcis again appealed to the Romans, this time for a garrison and a governor to protect the city from a pro-Jugurthan conspiracy which a certain Hamilcar, a nobleman, was said to be plotting within her walls. Hamilcar became dangerous and the inhabitants were helpless. They could not do anything to restrain him, neither the law nor the judge (Suffetes) could stop him.⁹⁷ They said that they were Roman allies since Jugurtha's war and supported the Roman generals Bestia, Albinus and Metellus.

The demand of Lepcis was agreed to and Metellus sent four cohorts of Ligurian infantry under the command of C. Annius; and thus Roman troops were stationed in Tripolitania for the first time. The garrison was presumably withdrawn at the end of the war, but the treaty of friendship and alliance with Rome will have remained in force.⁹⁸ It is probable that Roman troops continued to be stationed at Lepcis Magna to protect it from the Numidian ambitions and the expected invasions of the desert tribes.⁹⁹

Sallust is one of the most important Roman historians for this period, but he does not note the cession of Lepcis Magna, or the annexation of the region to the province of Africa. Sallust's silence regarding this point has led to differences between the historians.

Toutain¹⁰⁰ said that the Tripolitanian region was separated from

the Numidian kingdom and was annexed to the Roman province in the year 106 B.C. Merighi¹⁰¹ said that the Emporia continued to be an integral part of Numidia for a long time after 106 B.C. when it was handed over to Jugurtha's successor. Africa Vetus continued to be within the limits of its own boundaries (Fossa Regia).

Romanelli¹⁰² said that the treaty of friendship and alliance between Lepcis and the Romans remained in force, even after the end of the Jugurthine war and his brother Gauda's installation as king of Numidia. This alliance did not reduce the authority of the Numidian state, because Lepcis had had its independence for a long time. Although the Roman forces were stationed in Lepcis it did not mean that this town was annexed to the Roman province of Africa; what is more, Lepcis' alliance with the Romans caused the development of its economy and increased its commerce with Italy.

Other historians¹⁰³ have believed that the sending of troops by Metellus was purely a military and not an administrative action, because the former governors, the two judges (Suffetes), continued to govern the town.

Thus the silence of Sallust and other historians regarding this point supports the view that Tripolitania was not directly controlled by the Romans or annexed to the province of Africa in the year 106 B.C.¹⁰⁴

Finally, at the end of the Jugurthine War, Rome became the master of Numidia. The latter was divided, the country of the Massiliensi (Wahran, Algeria) being given to the Roman ally Bocchus I, King of Mauretania and the rest of Numidia to Gauda, Jugurtha's half-brother, who was put on the Numidian throne as a Roman puppet.¹⁰⁵

After Gauda's death his son Hiempsal became his successor. Hiempsal did not stay long on the throne, a certain Hiarbas managed to secure the throne for himself, but Hiarbas was defeated by Pompey.

Consequently Hiempsal retrieved the throne.

After Hiempsal's death his son Juba I became the king of Numidia.¹⁰⁶

For the next fifty years Lepcis Magna seems to have been the trusted ally of Rome, and the Romans must have helped Lepcis, Oea and Sabratha to defend themselves against desert raiders and the Numidians. Although the other two cities had followed the lead of Lepcis in seeking friendship with Rome they were still nominally part of the Numidian kingdom, which tried from time to time to bring them under its control.¹⁰⁷

Shortly before the middle of the first century we hear of Lepcis successfully appealing to Rome to persuade King Juba I of Numidia to surrender part of her territory which had been wrongfully occupied.¹⁰⁸ The cities' state of semi-independence ended in 49 B.C. when civil war broke out between Julius Caesar and Pompey. King Juba I was a strong supporter of Pompey and Lepcis became involved with Pompey's cause when Juba's troops seized the city and forced it to supply troops and armaments. Juba stood firmly on the side of the Pompeians because he had a traditional friendship with Pompey's family; that came from Pompey's help to Juba's father in regaining the throne.¹⁰⁹ Also, "he had a grudge against Curio, because the latter as a tribune had proposed a bill making Juba's kingdom state property".¹¹⁰ In any case, he may have been aiming at gaining control of the province of Africa.

CHAPTER II

The Civil War and its effects on the Region

North Africa was the theatre for the second stage of Civil War between the followers of Caesar and Pompey.

Owing to Pompey's stubbornness, all Caesar's attempts and efforts to put an end to grave dissensions and to prevent the outbreak of war were unsuccessful.¹

At the outset of the war Caesar was able to occupy almost the whole of Italy. Consequently Pompey and his followers left Italy for Greece in order to prepare for the decisive battle to reorganize their forces in Spain and Africa. Knowing this, Caesar for the time being, suspended his plan of pursuing Pompey and decided to proceed to Spain instead.

He ordered the Chief Magistrates of all the Italian townships to collect ships and have them conveyed to Brundisium.

Meanwhile he sent Curio to occupy Sicily and drive out its Governor, Marcus Cato, and to continue to North Africa.²

When Attius Varus - one of Pompey's followers - lost his cohorts at Auxium, he fled to Africa and, finding the province without a governor had, of his own initiative, taken command and formed two legions by hold-a levy. He was depending on his familiarity with the people and the locality, and the experience of the province which he had gained a few years previously, when he had been governor there after his praetorship. When P. Aelius Tubero arrived at Utica with his fleet to receive his position as governor of the province of Africa, Attius denied him access to the town, and even refused to allow him to land his sick son.³ When Attius Varus took over the Roman province in Pompey's name, Juba I at

once promised his help; he supplied him with arms and Numidian cavalry and light troops.⁴ It seems that the partisans of Juba I were able to seize power in Lepcis Magna, and committed the city to supply him with men, arms and money.⁵ But Romanelli said that the role of Lepcis (probably also Oea and Sabratha) in the war was not great.⁶

After Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus in 48 B.C. and his death, his followers rallied in Africa and Lepcis Magna became one of their bases. On his way to Tunisia Cato Uticensis rivalled Ophellas' historic feat by marching round the Sirtic Coast from Cyrene with fifteen cohorts, wintering at Lepcis Magna on route.⁷

Various ancient historians refer to this march. Strabo mentioned that Cato on his march through the Tripolitania region divided his army into units to ease the movement on the road, and he used a number of donkeys to carry water and military equipment.⁸

Plutarch said that Cato employed some of the Tripolitani as guides and got some doctors from the tribe called Psilli to cure his men of snake bites.⁹ According to the authorities he was advancing his army and he was the last to drink water if it was available. He visited the Sanctuary of Amon which was situated at Sirt and after 30 days he arrived at Lepcis.¹⁰

Meanwhile Curio, fresh from his success in Sicily, had crossed over from that island to North Africa to confront Varus and his ally Juba I, the Numidian King who possessed powerful cavalry and supported Pompey's cause.¹¹

Scorning from the outset the forces of Publius Attius Varus, or the little information which he received about his enemy's forces, Curio was transporting only two of the legions which he had received from Caesar, with five hundred cavalry.

When he arrived at the Coast of Africa he put in at Clupea near to Utica (Tunis). After two days and three nights march he reached the river Bagradas (in Tunisia).¹² There he left his army, while he himself went ahead with the cavalry to occupy Castra Cornelia which was thought highly suitable for a camp. He attacked Utica, and as Varus' forces were unable to withstand the first impact of his men, they withdrew to their camp by the town, with great losses. Although Curio had achieved victory over Numidian forces at the first encounter, at the end he was defeated and killed. The majority of his army perished.¹³

On hearing the news, the Commander of the Garrison of Castra Cornelia arranged for his soldiers to be taken back by ship to Sicily. There was a general panic and great confusion. As a result a few soldiers succeeded in getting on board, and reached Sicily safely. The rest surrendered to Varus, but Juba killed the majority of them. Varus protested but was not able to do anything.

Juba entered the town (Utica), escorted by a number of Senators, and gave orders to his assistants regarding what should be done at Utica, then he returned with his forces to his Kingdom.¹⁴

It seems that the Numidian forces played the main role in Curio's defeat and the destruction of his army.

After this victory Juba I became the master of North Africa and he committed many atrocities against the Roman residents in Numidia. The Republicans scorned him for what he did and this was probably one of the main factors which enabled Caesar to gain victory over his enemies.¹⁵

Finally Curio's defeat was due to his ignorance of the size of his enemy's forces, as a result of which he transported only two of the four legions which he had received from Caesar.

Moreover he was not accurate in collecting and analysing the information which he got through his source of intelligence, and enemy deserters who brought false news, the gist of which was that Juba had been recalled by a border war and troubles with the people of Leptis and had stayed in his kingdom, and that instead his officer Saburra had been dispatched with an improvised army and was approaching Utica. He accepted this false information without question, changed his plans, and decided to offer battle.¹⁶

Undoubtedly his decision was strongly influenced by his youthful audacity, his earlier progress and his confidence in his success.¹⁷

In June 48 B.C. came Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus (Thessaly - Greece), followed by his assassination in Alexandria by the Egyptian King's adherents.¹⁸

After the victory at Pharsalus and Pompey's death, Caesar faced some problems in the East, such as the Alexandrian War¹⁹ and the war with Pharnaces, King of Pontus,²⁰ but he was able to put an end to these problems. He had also to deal with a mutiny among his legionaries in Italy. At first he sent Sallust to calm the mutineers, but when the latter failed, Caesar went to meet them and succeeded in persuading them to abandon their mutiny.

The pacification of the mutineers was just in time, because by now the scattered Pompeian forces had rallied in Africa under the leadership of Metellus Scipio, whose aristocratic grandeur earned him the supreme command. He was associated with other Roman leaders including Labienus, Afranius, Petreius and Pompey's two sons Gnaeus and Sextus. These Pompeians had

allied themselves with Juba I, King of Numidia (Caesar's enemy) and Cato who had performed an epic trek from Cyrenaica and wintered in Lepcis Magna.²¹

The delay which resulted from these eastern episodes gave the surviving adherents of Pompey an opportunity to concentrate their scattered forces in Africa. The sixteen months lost by Caesar since the battle of Pharsalus were now to take their revenge on him; 'Had he proceeded to Africa immediately after the death of Pompeius' writes Theodor Mommsen,²² 'he would have found there a weak, disorganized, and frightened army and utter anarchy among its leaders, whereas there was now in Africa an army equal in number to the defeated at Pharsalus'.

After settling his problems in the East and Italy Caesar turned his attention to North Africa where the Pompeians and their ally Juba I, the Numidian King, had rallied at the end of 47 B.C.²³

Caesar relied on his allies: the two Kings of Mauretania, Bochas²⁴ the younger, Bogud²⁵ and Publius Sittius²⁶, a highly enterprising Roman condottiere who had his own private army.

Caesar also had the support of the Roman settlers in Africa who had suffered materially from the requisitions, and resented the general arrogance of the Republican Command.

Caesar also had the psychological advantage over the Roman Generals, all of whom he had defeated once or more before, and of being a relative of Marius.²⁷

In October 47 B.C. Caesar landed at Hadrumetum (in Tunisia) with a small force.²⁸ He found difficulty in landing because of a storm and could not therefore at the time take the town as his force was small and the

town well protected by the garrison under the command of Gaius Considius. Caesar, acting on the advice of his legatus, Lucius Plancus, tried to negotiate with Considius, but failed.

Owing to the arrival of Considius' reinforcements, Caesar moved to Ruspina and on to Lepcis Minor (Susa in Tunisia) which opened its gates for him, hence becoming one of his bases for future operations.²⁹

Meanwhile, Caesar's reinforcements arrived and he reorganized his army and made arrangements for food and equipment. He left a garrison at Lepcis Minor and returned to Ruspina where he pitched his camp. Here, he was attacked by Labienus' cavalry which was supported by a big Numidian force (1600 cavalry, and infantry) which were under the command of M. Petreius and Gnaeus Piso who employed tactics which were new to Caesar.³⁰ The tactics were used to destroy Curio, but Caesar with a successful manoeuvre overcame these tactics and defeated them. It had been one of the hardest and most critical battles that Caesar ever fought.³¹

Meanwhile Gnaeus Pompey acting on the advice of Cato, invaded Mauretania and the Kingdom of Bogud, but he failed. After this failure Gnaeus set sail and without putting in to shore again made for the Balcaric Islands.³²

Scipio arrived from Utica to join Labienus, and Caesar was penned with his troops into his camp at Ruspina. While this was occurring King Juba, learning of Caesar's difficulties and shortage of supplies, decided not to allow Caesar to recover his strength and increase

his resources. He therefore collected large forces of Numidian cavalry and infantry and hastened to the help of his allies. Meanwhile Publius Sittius and King Bocchus had joined forces; learning of the King's departure, they invaded his kingdom. On being informed of this Juba withdrew his auxiliary forces from Scipio and went off to save his kingdom.³³

During this period (November 47 B.C.), Caesar's circumstances became much better; the thirteenth and fourteenth legions landed, with eight hundred Gallic cavalry and a thousand archers and slingers. The ninth and tenth arrived a little later.

Meanwhile the praetor Sallustius succeeded in finding a large quantity of corn at Cercina. There he loaded up the cargo in ships and sent them to Caesar's camp. It was possible to relax for the first time.³⁴

While these events were taking place near Ruspina, deputations came to Caesar from some towns, Acylla and later from Thysdra saying that they were ready and willing to carry out whatever commands he might give. They undertook to supply corn and anything else they possessed for the sake of the common good.

Their main request was that he should grant them a garrison so that they could carry out his orders under protection and without running into peril. Caesar agreed to meet their request.³⁵

The course of events surprised Scipio and his allies and made them seek an explanation. Caesar was usually in the habit of taking the initiative, and they suspected that his altered behaviour concealed

some important stratagem.

They therefore chose two Gaetulians and sent them into Caesar's camp to spy, in the guise of deserters. When the two arrived at Caesar's camp they told him their story and expressed their wish to stay with him and he agreed.³⁶

Scipio was joined now by Juba, who had left Saburra to face Sittius, and the strategies of the opposing armies were determined by two facts, the proved superiority of the republican cavalry and the greater prestige and fighting experience of Caesar's legions.³⁷

Scipio knew that Caesar would be forced to move his camp from time to time in search of food, and realised that he could use his cavalry to their best advantage in attacking Caesar's column on the march. Caesar on the other hand wanted to bring the enemy to battle.³⁸ He attempted to do this by starting by the seiging of the town of Uzita, some seven miles south of his camp at Ruspina; in his preliminary moves he inflicted a severe defeat on Labienus' cavalry and the arrival of deserters in increasing numbers was evidence of his ultimate success.³⁹ But as Scipio refused to fight Caesar moved his army first south east to Aggar. Then he decided to move up the coast, to besiege Thapsus (Ras Dimas), knowing that Scipio must come to the town's defence.⁴⁰

Inland from Thapsus is an extensive belt of marsh*, and Caesar's enemies planned to imprison his besieging army in the Isthmus between the marsh and the sea by blocking its means of escape both to north and to the south. Juba and Afranius camped to the south, Scipio to

* The Marsh of Moknine.

the North.

Now at last Scipio drew up his army outside his Camp and offered battle and on April 6th (February 6th) the opportunity had come for which Caesar's troops were more impatient even than he was himself.⁴¹ Caesar and his officers observed the enemy in frantic movement around the rampart, running here and there in confusion and sometimes withdrawing inside the gates, sometimes coming out in a disorderly and reckless fashion. At this soldiers were not so patient. A trumpeter on the right sounded the advance, and without Caesar's orders, the right wing advanced. The elephants on the republican left maddened by rapid volleys of missiles, and bullets, turned and trampled on the troops behind them. The Numidian cavalry on the left left the field. Scipio's troops were routed and more than ten thousand were killed. His camp was stormed and Juba's Camp in its turn was taken.⁴²

Caesar's troops were utterly out of hand by this time, murdering senators, equestrians, even their own officers, if they tried to restrain them.

But Thapsus even now refused to surrender; so Caesar left a garrison to continue the siege. He himself moved north to Utica, which was under Cato's command.⁴³ When the defeated republican cavalry stormed the town Cato persuaded them to take money and go.⁴⁴

He left it to the town Council to take the proper decision whether to resist or to submit. When they voted for submission he abandoned any further efforts, and put ships at the disposal of his friends and intending fugitives to go off whenever they wished. He himself made

careful preparations. He put his children in charge of Lucius Caesar, who at the time was acting as his quaestor. Then he prepared for Caesar the only injury that was still within his power, to deny him the opportunity of a spectacular act of pardon. When he had dined he went to bed without arousing any suspicious behaviour and read Plato's treatise. He took the sword which prescient friends had vainly tried to remove. And when the deed was done and his friends rushed in and bandaged him up, he tried again, this time with success.⁴⁵

When Caesar entered Utica, he summoned an assembly, and thanked the inhabitants for their efforts on his behalf - and pardoned some of his enemies. As for the Roman citizens - the businessmen and those of the three hundred, who had anticipated execution were happy, on being spared, to promise an indemnity of two hundred million sesterces, payable in six instalments over three years.⁴⁶

The cavalry whom Cato had bribed to leave Utica fell in with the army of P. Sittius who, having routed the army of Juba's general Saburra and killed the general himself, was on his way to join Caesar.⁴⁷

When Juba and Petreius, who had escaped from Thapsus, abandoned hope, they decided to commit suicide. One killed the other, and the survivor was despatched by one of his own slaves.⁴⁸ Scipio died well; when the ship on which he was escaping to Spain was captured by Sittius' fleet, he pierced himself with his sword and died.⁴⁹

Thus the prominent leaders of the Pompeian alliance perished. Only a few like Labienus and Attius Varus escaped to join Gnaeus Pompey in Spain.

After the Pompeians had been defeated Caesar became the master of North Africa. He imposed fines on its cities which had supported his enemies, and reduced them to the status of subjects.⁵⁰

Lepcis Magna was one of these cities. As a punishment for helping the Pompeian cause, Lepcis Magna was made a subject city, a "stipendiary" of Rome, and was fined one million litres of olive-oil a year. Probably not only Lepcis, but Oea, Sabratha, and even Tripolitania as a whole, had to pay this heavy tax. Tripolitania had unluckily, and most likely unwillingly, supported the losing side of the Civil War.⁵¹ Led by Lepcis the province had been on excellent terms with Rome in prewar days; it was in thorough disgrace when, after the war, it became part of the Roman Empire.⁵² However, Lepcis had sent an embassy to Senate in the previous year, had arbiters appointed, and regained property ravaged by Juba.⁵³

Zama was exempted from a fine because she had shut its doors in Juba's face.⁵⁴ As a reward Sittius was appointed governor of Cirta which was known as Sittianorum colonia.⁵⁵

In addition to the imposing of fines and giving of rewards, Caesar took important administrative steps in North Africa. He abolished the Kingdom of Numidia and divided its territory into three divisions; the Western was granted to Bocchus⁵⁶, whose Kingdom extended to the Grand Valley, the middle was given to Sittius⁵⁷, and the eastern part was made a new province (Africa Nova⁵⁸) and C. Sallustius Crispus was installed as its governor (46 - 44 B.C.)⁵⁹

It seems that Caesar was aiming at strengthening the Roman presence in those regions, and not to give a chance to the natives to repeat their attempts at independence as Jugurtha and Juba I had done.

There is a disagreement between historians regarding the status

of Numidia under direct Roman rule : Mommsen said that Numidia was annexed to Africa Vetus under the command of a legatus.⁶⁰ Other historians contradicted that saying it was an independent province (Africa Nova)⁶¹. The latter is confirmed by Dio, who mentioned that there were two provinces in Africa in the year 40 B.C.; at the same time he mentioned their two governors⁶², and the governor of Numidia was Titus Sextius⁶³ who was appointed by the Senate before the formation of the Triumvirate. This confirmation from Dio suggests that Numidia had a distinct status from that time.⁶⁴

Dio says that when the Roman provinces were divided Octavian got Numidia and Antonius got Africa.⁶⁵

Undoubtedly there was such a system of duality made by Caesar immediately after Thapsus.

In any case the division of African territory into two provinces did not last for long, because Africa Nova and Vetus were merged into one province about 26 B.C.

What was the fate of Tripolitania after these events? Did it continue to be a part of Numidia, therewith annexed to Africa Nova, or separated and annexed to Africa Vetus?

Regarding this point there is no explicit evidence, but there is a text in Bellum Africum which indicates the creation of Africa Nova : "ex regnoque provincia facta"⁶⁶. This means the whole of Juba's region (except the parts which were given to King Bocchus I⁶⁷, and P. Sittius⁶⁸) and the Emporia region under the leadership of Lepcis Magna which lost her status as a trusty friend and ally of Rome because

she made an alliance with Juba and supported the Pompeian cause.⁶⁹ She also welcomed Cato Uticensis when he spent the whole winter there, and got all the available facilities.⁷⁰ But this assumption is inconsistent with Sallust who said that the Philaenorum Arae were situated West of Lepcis Magna.⁷¹ What he said here raises a question: If the Africa Nova borders extended to Philaenorum Arae, how did Sallust not know the exact position of the borders of the province which he governed? This information leads to the other possibility, that the region of Tripolitania was annexed to Africa Vetus.

Pomponius Mela mentioned that the borders of Africa were extended from the Metagonium promontory to Philaenorum Arae.⁷² It is clear that he meant by mentioning Africa, the two provinces Africa Nova and Africa Vetus which were merged into one province (Africa).

This author (Mela) did not mention whether the annexation of the Emporia was to Africa Vetus or Nova. Although Gsell did not find an explanation for Sallust's incorrect data, and could not ^{come to} final conclusion, he tended to support the second assumption, the gist of which is that Caesar had annexed the Emporia region to Africa Vetus (year 46 B.C.)⁷³. Even though Ascari⁷⁴ did not notice Sallust's errors and tried to find some excuses for him, Sallust's incorrect information is clear in his text.⁷⁵ In any case it is known that Sallust's data were not accurate and he did not care much about geography.⁷⁶ His error is probably due to the short period which he spent in Africa (46-44), and the matter concerning places which are far from the province's flourishing centres and are of secondary importance. Finally he wrote his book (Bellum Iugurthinum) some time after the events which were narrated.⁷⁷

If we exclude Sallust's incorrect data which is easily justified, and if we consider there was no reason to separate the Emporia region which was under Numidian control and to annex it to Africa Vetus,⁷⁸ we can decide without doubt that the region of Tripolitania became an integral part of the new province "Africa Nova".

There is a disagreement among historians regarding the town on which Caesar had imposed a tribute⁷⁹; some⁸⁰ have said that it was Lepcis Magna, others⁸¹ said it was Lepcis Minor.

It seems that the reasons which actuated Caesar to impose a fine on Lepcis Magna were that she had welcomed Cato Uticensis with the remnants of Pompey's army, where he spent a winter,⁸² and at the outset of the war, in consequence of disagreement among her leaders, she had allied herself with Juba I and supplied him with arms, troops, and money.⁸³

Romanelli says that the narration of the events fails to confirm that Lepcis Magna was the town on which the tribute had been imposed, but that Lepcis Minor is referred to. Since Caesar had landed at Hadrumetum and could not occupy it, and marched towards Ruspina and then to Lepcis, of course Lepcis Minor which opened its gates to him became one of his bases.⁸⁴

But Romanelli's assumption encounters difficulty in that it does not seem from the narration of events that Lepcis Minor was the intended town. On the other hand, if Lepcis Byzacene (Lepcis Minor) had opened her gates to Caesar and became one of his bases, her surrender to him was due to fear, therefore there was no need to

punish her. Moreover if Juba had occupied Lepcis Minor, then he had invaded Roman territory,⁸⁵ and breached the peace terms; this is difficult to accept.⁸⁶

If it is taken into consideration that Lepcis Magna was in a position to supply her ally King Juba I, with weapons and forces, Caesar's reason for occupying Lepcis Magna becomes clear.

Mommsen in an attempt to prove that Lepcis Minor was meant and not Lepcis Magna, compared Leptis Minor with Lampta and said that "susa" which is near to Lampta, still exports (40,000) forty thousand hectoliters of olive-oil a year.⁸⁷

In any case as Lepcis Minor had given no offence to Caesar that we know of and *did* not answer to the mention of Juba's raid⁸⁸ and the alliance with Juba in the Bellum Africum, and this town *did* not answer to Caesar's statement that this oil was to come from a subdued region⁸⁹, there *was* not any reasonable basis for such imposition on a non hostile country. Thus we feel that we can follow Haywood in thinking that "it is safer to regard the passage in Bell. Africum as referring to Lepcis Magna and not Lepcis Minor."⁹⁰

The authorities of the Imperial period confirm that an amount of olive-oil was given to Rome by an African town, and that town was Lepcis Magna, which spontaneously undertook this obligation.⁹¹ For when Septimius Severus gave the city the Ius Italicum under which tribute need not be paid, the city offered him a regular shipment of oil, which apparently was sent until Constantine gave relief.⁹²

This demonstrates that the exports of this type of production were great. But it does not seem that Lepcis Magna flourished to this extent, so as to be able to bear this heavy burden as a single city, whatever the extent of its territory and the fertility of its olive trees.⁹³ Regarding this point, Romanelli⁹⁴ commented by saying, either the author (of Bell. Afr.) was not accurate or the text was interpolated and he put a third assumption, the gist of which was that Plutarch mentioned the same figure (3,000,000 pounds of olive-oil) and confirmed that it was the whole production of the new province which Caesar annexed after Thapsus (which is clearly Numidia).⁹⁵ The text noted Caesar's boast that he had subdued a region which could furnish annually to the public treasury 200,000 attic medimni of grain and three million pounds of oil.⁹⁶ The wheat would be brought from the new province (Africa Nova), and the oil from Lepcis Magna. Both could be called "a conquered region".⁹⁷

In fact the annual tribute of olive-oil was a heavy burden for a single city as we mentioned above, but we know that the olive was cultivated all over the region of Tripolitania, particularly in the inland regions.

The traces of farms and the remains of factories for its production are still to be seen in different places in the Tripolitanian region, especially in the territory surrounding the suburbs of Lepcis as we see now in Tarhuna, Beni Walied and Messalata. These zones are still famous for an abundance of olive trees.⁹⁸

In any case the amount demanded is an explicit testimony to

the flourishing state of Tripolitanian olive cultivation. There is reason to think that Oea and Sabartha were implicated with Lepcis and reduced to stipendiary status at the same time. If so they probably contributed part of the three million pounds of olive oil, exactly as they did after the bestowal of ius Italicum by Septimius Severus when they offered a regular shipment of oil.⁹⁹ If so the figure will not be so high.

After Caesar's assassination there was a severe struggle between his supporters and the Republicans. Both contested Africa Vetus and Nova. At this time the Governor of Africa Vetus was Cornificius¹⁰⁰ who was on the Republican side.

He lent a helping hand to Sextus Pompey¹⁰¹ who was occupying Sicily and welcomed the expatriated¹⁰², and he was hostile to the second triumvirate.

The Senate supported him to guarantee his loyalty to them and his standing against Caesar's adherents, and also to ensure the arrival of African corn at Rome.

At Caesar's death T. Sextius succeeded as a governor of Africa Nova, and he was one of Caesar's supporters. As the Senate was afraid of Antonius and Octavius, and did not trust Sextius, after Mutina he was ordered by the Senate to send two of his legions to Italy for the defence of the state and to transfer the third to Cornificius, governor of Africa Vetus.¹⁰³ The Senate took the decision probably to protect the provinces from Octavius and Antonius.

The treaty which was ratified between the members of the second Triumvirate, stipulated that Numidia and Africa Vetus should be given to Octavius. Therefore Sextius in the name of the Triumvirate demanded that Cornificius surrender the two provinces to him. But the latter refused to do so on the pretext that he did not recognize their treaty, and he replied that he would return the province (Africa Vetus) to the Senate, which had originally installed him as a governor of it.¹⁰⁴

Cornificius' refusal was the first spark which started the war in 42 B.C.

As Sextius had no army he gathered legions by holding a levy, an undertaking on which he was able to embark, thanks to his familiarity with the people and the locality, and the experience of the province which he had gained as a governor.

After massing his troops he invaded the internal regions of Africa Vetus and advanced as far as Hadrumentum (Susa), but he was opposed by a counter-attack by Cornificius' legati Laelius and Ventidius. The first was the quaestor pro praetore¹⁰⁵, the second was legatus¹⁰⁶ of Cornificius. This counter-attack compelled Sextius to return to Numidia and to change his plan from offensive to defensive.¹⁰⁷

Meanwhile Laelius besieged Cirta. The situation changed when Arabio¹⁰⁸ joined his forces with Sextius and helped him defeat and kill Ventidius and dispersed and massacred his army. Owing to Ventidius' defeat, D. Laelius was compelled to put an end to the siege of Cirta and to retreat to Utica where he joined Cornificius.

Sextius and Arabio advanced to Utica and they defeated Cornificus and Laelius and annihilated their army. At last Sextius became the master of the two provinces (Africa Nova, Vetus), (around 42-41 B.C.).¹⁰⁹

After the battle of Philippi the provinces were divided between the members of the Triumvirate, except Lepidus,¹¹⁰ who was deprived by his colleagues of provinces on the pretext of a rumour of collusion between him and Sextius Pompey. Octavian got Africa Nova and Antonius got Africa Vetus, even though they were allotted to Lepidus.¹¹¹ Owing to a dispute between the members of the Triumvirate, Sextius was ordered to surrender the two provinces to Octavian, and to transfer the authority to Octavian's legatus C. Fuficius Fango and that was precisely what he did.

The rupture of relations between the members of the Triumvirate led to the outbreak of the war between their governors.¹¹² Sextius was ordered again to resume his command, therefore he surprised Fango and defeated him. When the latter realized that he had been betrayed he committed suicide and Sextius retained the two provinces and continued to rule them till 40 B.C. on behalf of Antonius.

Meanwhile Lepidus' trial was resolved in his favour. As nothing serious was proved, and after helping Octavian ineffectively in the Perusine war, he was allowed to take over Africa in the year 40 B.C.¹¹³ He spent four years in Africa (40 - 36 B.C.), and during this period he did not achieve anything for the province, but he misgoverned it and left ^abad ~~position~~¹¹⁴ behind him. Although he had huge forces,¹¹⁵ he did not use them to extend the territories of his provinces. In any case in 36 B.C. he played an independent part in the campaign

against Sextus Pompey, and laid claim to Sicily, but Octavian won over his army and compelled him to leave the Triumvirate and retire into private life, retaining only his office of pontifex maximus.

Lepidus, who died in 13 or 12 B.C., lacked the character and energy to use the opportunities which high birth and Caesar's favour placed in his way.¹¹⁶

In any case this campaign was the end of his political life. Thus Octavian got back the provinces and he installed T. Statilius Taurus as their governor.¹¹⁷

After the victory of Actium 31 B.C., Octavian became the master of the Roman provinces. He devoted all his efforts to reorganizing the state.¹¹⁸ His reign was distinguished by stability, peace and prosperity. He took much care of economic problems and restoration of towns, and he permitted new colonists to settle in Carthage which had grown and become one of the important commercial centres in his time.¹¹⁹ In the same period (29 B.C.) he reconstructed the Numidian Kingdom and installed Juba II,¹²⁰ as her King. Dio said that Juba II was granted his father's kingdom as a reward for his supporting Augustus in his campaign against Antonius.¹²¹ This historian added that in 25 B.C., Juba II was given a part of Gaetulia and Mauretania, instead of his father's kingdom, a great part of which was merged into the Roman provinces.¹²² This report is confirmed by Plutarch¹²³ and Tacitus¹²⁴. Also there are silver coins, from Caesarea, which carry the head of King Juba and his son Ptolemy who is portrayed as a co-ruler during his father's life time.¹²⁵ In addition to that King Juba II depicted his family on his coins, but they are shown in a stylized way so that they cannot be considered as portraits.¹²⁶

Some historians considered Dio's statement as evidence confirming the reconstruction of the Numidian Kingdom by Augustus for the period (29 - 25 B.C.).¹²⁷ He probably did that in order to relieve himself, even if temporarily, of defending the province and to spare his forces for other duties. He trusted Juba to defend the province against the fierce Libyan tribes and in case of danger, the governor of Africa Vetus was ready to offer his help.

Others have contradicted this by saying that the available coins do not refer to the assumed period in which Juba II ruled Numidia, and have added that when Augustus and the Senate agreed to divide the provinces in (27 B.C.), Numidia and Africa Vetus were united in one province.¹²⁸

Others¹²⁹ think that either Augustus did not reconstruct the Numidian Kingdom or that he granted Juba II some regions which had been under his father's rule to govern them himself.

Although some¹³⁰ have argued that the borders of the new Numidian Kingdom were confined by Ampasaga river and Saladae, it is difficult to say exactly where its borders were.

If Juba II was granted all the territories which his father had governed, as Dio mentioned, it is probable that the region of Tripolitania was a part of this new kingdom.¹³¹ In any case the new Numidian Kingdom did not last after 25 B.C.¹³²

Meantime the death of Bocchus II (33 B.C.) meant that the Mauretanian throne was without a successor.¹³³

Octavian appointed governors to rule the country under his direct control. When he was given the imperium and called Augustus by the

Senate¹³⁴ (27 B.C.), he decided not to extend the imperial territories by annexation of not fully Romanized zones, and he prepared to install loyal princes to govern them.¹³⁵ Therefore in 25 B.C. he re-formed the great Mauretanian kingdom and installed Juba II, as its King, and abolished the new Numidian kingdom, which Juba II had been ruling over, incorporating it into Africa Vetus.¹³⁶

There are differences between historians regarding the reasons which actuated Augustus to abolish the Numidian kingdom and incorporate it into the Empire. Some have said that the exceptional concentration of Italian settlers in the kingdom which Augustus gave to the son of Juba, provided a solid Roman presence on which the Roman administration could depend.¹³⁷

Others have contradicted this by saying that this was not reason enough, because the Sittianorum Colonia provided solid groups of Roman citizens before Numidia was granted to Juba. It was probable that when Augustus reorganized the empire he reckoned that the time was suitable to incorporate Numidia into the Empire. At the same time Juba II could look after the welfare of the Roman people in Mauretania which he governed on their behalf, and it would be easy to dispose of him, and annex Mauretania, when the proper time came.¹³⁸

However, King Juba II governed his extensive kingdom for 49 years in the grand style after the manner of the hellenistic monarchs. The most notable aspects of adulation of his overlord in Rome, are the renaming of his capital **Iol** as Caesarea, the official cult of Augustus and the imitation of military institutions created by this emperor, especially the bodyguards of the corporis custodes.¹³⁹

Regarding the Emporia region Romanelli argued that as Numidia was annexed to Africa Vetus in 25 B.C., consequently the Emporia became part of it.¹⁴⁰ This may be confirmed by what Pliny records about it. Cornelius Balbus' campaign against the Garamantes in the south of the region (Fezzan), the gist of which is that it would have been very difficult to fight against these tribes except by acting from Tripolitania and using its ports.¹⁴¹

The Romans did this later when they used Lepcis Magna, probably Oea and Sabratha as a base of action against the Garamantes in the war with Tacfarinas, under the command of Blaesus; the region was probably by then incorporated in the African province.¹⁴² But Gsell assumed that the Emporia was probably annexed to the Cyrenaican province and he confirmed his assumption by saying that Balbus could easily have used the Tripolitanian ports in his punitive expedition, because the governor of the Cyrenaican province was probably under the governor of Africa. He also proposed another theory the gist of which was that Balbus might be appointed in emergencies as governor of both provinces at the same time or probably as governor of Cyrenaica only.¹⁴³ This assumption was wrong because Pliny connected the Narration of the expedition against the Garamantes with the description of Cyrenaica and he said, "The distances are from here to the Garamantes who are subjected to the governor".¹⁴⁴ Pliny was not accurate in his description and did not have a clear conception of the geography of this region, and that was made clear, when he said that the borders of Cyrenaica terminated at Syrtis Minor "ad eum terminum Cyrenaica Africa a Syrti Minore",¹⁴⁵ while he contradicted this by saying that the Cape of "Borion" was situated beyond the province of Cyrenaica. He also wrote in the same book other similar contradictions which decrease the value of his

narration concerning this point.¹⁴⁶

On the other hand there is some evidence which confirms the annexation of the Emporia region to the United Africa (Africa Vetus and Nova) round 6 A.D. Firstly the survey and measurement of the land of Africa Nova at the time of Augustus shows that the coasts of Syrtis Minor were part of United Africa whose authority extended to the Phoenician borders.¹⁴⁷ These were the natural borders, when the official list of the Colonies and Municipalities were made before Augustus' death.¹⁴⁸

Also the extension of survey and measurement of new lands which were occupied after Tacfarinas' defeat was completed according to the Roman armies' advance. This was done especially when the decision was taken to annex the parts adjacent to the coastal Tunisian zones. Therefore Africa, which comprised the Syrtis Minor and Syrtis Major, which was separated from Cyrenaica at the time of Augustus, included a great part of the interior at the time of Tiberius.¹⁴⁹

Secondly the evidence (arch.) which confirms the annexation of Tripolitania to United Africa (Vetus and Nova) was the road which was built at the orders of Lucius Aelius Lamia, the proconsul of Africa, in order to facilitate movement between Lepcis Magna and the plateau of Tarhuna, which went so far as Mesphe. It is probable that this road originally had a second purpose: that of facilitating troop movements in case of trouble in the interior.¹⁵⁰ The construction of this road associated with the inscriptions of Lucius Aelius Lamia,¹⁵¹ found at Raselhadadagiah (near Tarhuna) attests that the authority of the proconsul of Africa extended to this region at that period.

Merighi had elaborated this point and concluded that Augustus did

not separate Tripolitania from the province of Africa or annex it to Cyrenaica, because Tripolitania had participated in African history and fate, and so neither the administrative nor the strategic reasons were sufficient to make him take this action.¹⁵² We may add here that it is doubtful if Tripolitania was ever part of Cyrenaica, because the latter was a Greek-speaking area acquired by Rome from the Ptolemies, in the first century B.C. Like Africa Vetus and Nova, Tripolitania was an old Punic area which was becoming Latin-speaking. In other words, the political and cultural backgrounds of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania were quite different.

Romanelli says that even if this annexation occurred at the time of Augustus, it did not last a long time and the borders of the province of Africa, which comprised Africa Vetus and Numidian territories including Tripolitania returned to the Phoenician borders at "Arae philaenorum".¹⁵³

CHAPTER III

TRIBAL RESISTANCE

Once the Civil Wars were finally ended, and the new system known as the Principate had been established under the rule of Augustus, attention could be given to the permanent frontier of the empire, and to the most effective deployment of the imperial army for their defence. In Africa the two provinces (Vetus and Nova) were united in a single command under the proconsul, who acted both as civil governor and as army commander, with one legion (the third Augusta) and its associated auxiliary units.¹ During the Augustan period Africa was a theatre for tribal revolts. It has been already mentioned that Augustus transferred King Juba II to Mauretania and the Gaetulii refused to be governed by Numidian dynasty. Therefore they continued their revolts.²

Several of the proconsuls in the early years of Augustus' reign undertook successful campaigns in Africa to suppress these revolts, and triumphs ex Africa were celebrated by successful governors of Africa Proconsularis.³ Triumphs were accorded to Sempronius Atratinus,⁴ Cornelius Balbus,⁵ Passienus Rufus⁶ and to Lentulus Cossus.⁷ The Proconsul L. Sempronius Atratinus defeated the Gaetuli (in 21 B.C.),⁸ but that was not decisive; this war was quickly resumed by L. Cornelius Balbus (in 20 B.C.) who led an expedition, far into the Tripolitanian hinterland against the Garamantes tribe of the Fezzan.⁹ But these expeditions do not seem to have resulted in any extension of the area actually under Roman rule; certainly the Garamantes stayed beyond the frontiers of the empire.¹⁰ The previous events demonstrated that the interior of Tripolitania, where this tribe lived, was always the source

of trouble from the beginning.¹¹

The tribe of the Garamantes was the strongest one in the southern territories of Tripolitania. It had control over the caravan routes which link the Tripolitanian sea ports with the interior. The Garamantes played the same role which their successors the Twaregs played in the same zone and the zone of Tassili was a part of the Garamantes kingdom.¹²

Herodotus records that the group of Garamantes, which dwelt in the zone adjacent to the great Gulf of Syrtis, was peaceful and the group which lived a distance of ten days south of Augilae, was aggressive and warlike and had horses with chariots which the Garamantes usually used for catching the black Troglodytes.¹³

The sources of the Roman period mention that besides the Garamantes and undeveloped Troglodytes there were Gamphasantes; though they had no experience with weapons, they were more advanced than the Troglodytes.¹⁴

As the ancient tribes were nomadic and used to move from one place to another searching for pasture and water, it is difficult to relate them to the recent tribes of Tripolitania. Although some scholars tried—they are not always successful.¹⁵

As the Garamantes' strongholds were far from the sphere of Roman influence, they felt that they were independent and they monopolized the Saharan caravan trade. They were working in commerce as intermediaries between the black peoples in the south and the coastal cities in the north.¹⁶ They used to seize every opportunity to support the revolts of the Musulamii and Gaetuli and to invade the Roman territories in Tripolitania.¹⁷ Thus the relations between the Romans and this tribe were hostile. These reasons actuated the Romans to subjugate the

rebellious Garamantes. Therefore the Proconsul L. Cornelius Balbus led a punitive expedition against the Garamantes (20 B.C.) and defeated them and conquered their towns, and consequently the expedition achieved its aims.¹⁸ The road which the expedition followed probably started from one of the three Tripolitanian coastal cities and advanced through Cydamus, one of the important Garamantes' cities, to Garama the 'Clarissimum [oppidum], Caput Garamantum' as Pliny described it.¹⁹

In any case it is difficult to trace the road which the campaign followed because Pliny did not give sufficient and accurate information and that probably due to his wrong conception of the geography of these regions or, as he recorded, to the difficulty of the pronunciation of the names of those towns and peoples.²⁰ Some places and towns, which he mentioned, are different from the recent towns and ~~they are in no way related to them~~²¹. However, he is able to tell us that the expedition started from one of the three main Tripolitanian sea-ports - probably Sabratha or Oea - and that Cydamus was one of the important Garamantes cities; it is likely that the expedition passed through it to Garama.²² Also in this text we meet for the first time the name of Phazzania, which was then known as the country of the Garamantes and it seems that Pliny did not know that because he used the two names as if they were for two different regions.²³

The last classical author requiring some consideration is Ptolemy, who wrote in the second century A.D. The value of his sources varies and his locations are often inaccurate, especially in inland areas where he is sometimes wildly wrong. He mentioned that Phazzania is a region situated to the west of the Nile rivers.²⁴ He added that Garama and other cities belong to the Garamantes country. Among towns in this part of Tripolitania he lists: Sabae, which is probably Sebba, Gelanus

and Vanias. He also refers to Garamantian 'Pharanx', which is probably wadi-el-Agial.²⁵

In any case the expedition of Cornelius Balbus against the Garamantes was a great risk if we look at it in the context of his age. He had to face great difficulties such as marching in the desert for a long distance without maps and proper means of transportation. He might not know the number of his enemy's fighters and his deceptive ways such as preparing ambushes and filling up wells.²⁶

Although he conquered the country of the Garamantes, it seems that the results of his expedition were limited and these tribes were not subdued completely, because the sources of the Roman period continued to repeat the name of the Garamantes after these dates.²⁷ Also it did not put an end to the tribal revolts.

Both the Gaetuli and Musulamii took part in the next revolt, the Bellum Gaetulicum of 5-6 A.D.²⁸ While the Musulamii were centered in Tebessa Mountains it is obvious that the war was fought along the entire southern borders of the province, from Mauretania to Lepcis Magna.²⁹ The tactics of these tribes were that they made periodic incursions on the Roman territories and retreated to the interior and that made it difficult for the Romans to pursue them.³⁰ The Roman forces in North Africa were in a state of permanent war because of these incursions even if they did not develop into decisive battles and that is probably the reason for the silence of the texts, which do not refer to the military history of Africa during the last twenty years of the first century B.C. Therefore the military losses to which Dio referred must belong to this period.³¹

Although Florus refers to this war as Tumultuatum magis quam

bellatum,³² there was a good deal of disruption before the rebel tribes were subdued by Cossus Cornelius Lentulus. The triumphant Cossus was granted the title of Imperator and took the name Gaetulicus.³³ As the Musulamii are in fact a part of ^{the} Gaetuli, Lentulus chose the wider term for the Cognomen.³⁴ Also in his honour the citizens of Lepcis Magna set up an inscription recording the gratitude for the delivery of the provinces of Africa from the Gaetulan war.³⁵ Juba II supplied some aid in this for which he was rewarded with the ornamenta triumphalia.³⁶ This is explicit from the bestowal of honours which he got from the Senate.³⁷

Dio Cassius records the reasons for the revolt as the anger of the Gaetuli at Juba II for submitting to the Romans, and their refusal to do likewise.³⁸ It has already been mentioned that the Gaetuli did not accept being ruled by the Numidian dynasty. Therefore it seems that Dio Cassius' explanation is perfectly clear and straightforward, and ^{there is} ~~no~~ need to follow Bénabou in thinking that the Romans at this period were trying to force these tribes to stay within certain territories.³⁹

One of the consequences of this revolt was the stationing of the Legion III Augusta at Ammaedara (Haidra in Algeria) in the territory of the Musulamii, which probably means that Juba II was deprived of the authority over this people.⁴⁰ On the other hand it threatened the Musulamii and cut them off from the Cinithii and other peoples. Moreover it represented a loss of land as well.⁴¹

A road was constructed in 14 A.D., at the orders of the proconsul L. Nonius Asprenas, to link Ammadara with Tacape, via Capsa, ex Castris hibernis Tacapas, and under the proconsulate of L. Aelius Lamia it was extended to link Tacape with Lepcis Magna.⁴² The decisive steps affecting the Musulamii were taken by Flavian emperors, especially the removal of the Legion III Augusta from Ammaedara to Theveste.⁴³ The

road was important because it extended the frontier of Roman control southward and excluded most of the marginal pre-desert some of which was incorporated into Africa proconsularis.

Anyhow at the time of Augustus the Roman empire enjoyed a period of peace (pax Romana), while the province of Africa suffered from tribal uprisings. But during the first twenty years of the first century, Roman Africa also enjoyed a short period of peace which was disrupted by the next major revolt during the first years of Tiberius' reign. The underlying reasons of this revolt seem to hinge on the measures which were taken as a result of the Gaetulian War: the decision was taken to advance the frontiers of the province and to place restrictions on the Musulamii's grazing territory and to encroach on the tribal lands.⁴⁴ This led to a major rebellion under a leader named Tacfarinas. He was a deserter from Numidian auxiliary units, who gathered around himself a group of Numidian rebels and trained them in Roman military tactics. As he succeeded in this he became a chief of the Musulamii and began a general rebellion against Rome in 17 A.D. The appearance of a successful bandit operation (Gaetulorum latrocinia) gave them the impetus to revolt.⁴⁵ Their allies, the Gaetuli, joined them, along with some Mauri to the west and the Cinithii from the coast near Gigthis in the region of Tripolitania.⁴⁶ Thus for the second time in fifteen years the entire southern border was in revolt.

In fact the Tripolitanian tribes, Cinithii in the west of this region, and Garamantes in its interior, had hardly recovered from the defeat of 19 B.C. when they joined Tacfarina's revolt. This rebellion was more dangerous than that of 19 B.C. because it broke out inside the Roman borders. Aware of the seriousness of the events of North Africa,

Rome reacted immediately. The Proconsul of Africa, Furius Camillus, though his army was small, was able to defeat the rebellion, but not to put an end to the revolt.⁴⁷ Juba II, gave himself a victory coinage for his part in its suppression.⁴⁸ But a further rising of the same tribes under Tacfarinas became much more dangerous.⁴⁹

Tacfarinas resumed the war against the Romans and attacked a Roman camp near the river Bagardas (Pagyda) and dispersed its garrison which was under the command of Decrius.⁵⁰ When the Proconsul Lucius Apronius heard about this defeat, he did not waste a moment in preparing for a new encounter with Tacfarinas.⁵¹ The latter was encouraged by his victory at the river Pagyda and attacked the Roman stronghold at Thala, but he was defeated and withdrew to the interior. The Roman leader Aelius Rufus was highly praised and the triumph was celebrated and the ceremony took place under Thala's walls.⁵² Repulsed at Thala, Tacfarinas took up guerilla tactics (Spargit bellum)⁵³ and began to attack and ravage the neighbouring regions. Later he was defeated by Lucius Apronius Caesianus, the son of the Proconsul near the coast where he allowed himself to be slowed down by booty and fled to the desert.

In any case the war did not finish and Lucius Apronius was satisfied with the Triumph and laid down arms as his predecessors usually did, "Ubi impetrando triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant, hostem omittebant".⁵⁴

In 21 A.D. Tacfarinas resumed the war and his next step was to offer Tiberius peace in exchange for a grant of land for himself and his troops. Tiberius was offended at his assumption and orders were given to the Proconsul Junius Blaesus to put an end to this revolt.⁵⁵ Blaesus offered the rebels immunity with a grant of land if they laid

especially those who had already left the Numidian leaders because of the immunity. Therefore their leaders were executed and Tacfarinas and the majority of his followers were finally surprised and annihilated in a wood near Auzia (Aumale) A.D. 24.⁶³ The Proconsul celebrated the victory of Roma and the death of Tacfarinas by having honorary inscriptions carved in several places, one of which was found in Lepcis Magna and the other in Oea. These two monuments probably show the great pleasure of the inhabitants of the two main sea ports of Tripolitania, when the defeat and death of Tacfarinas were announced.⁶⁴ On this occasion Lepcis Magna established the cult of the emperor and a Flamen Ti Caesaris Augusti was appointed.⁶⁵ This probably arose from gratitude to the Romans, who had rescued the three Tripolitanian coastal cities from the danger of the Numidian chief and his Tripolitanian allies, the Garamantes and Cinithians. As this expedition had demonstrated Ptolemy's good will, a member of the Senate was despatched to present him with traditional gifts.⁶⁶

The defeat of Tacfarinas compelled his ally, the King of the Garamantes, to send his envoy, "a rare spectacle in Rome",⁶⁷ to crave pardon for their delinquencies.

Although he had promised Tacfarinas his support, his part in the war seems to have been confined to acts of sympathetic brigandage and as a depository for the booty and partner in the forays,⁶⁸ for which he deemed it prudent, after Tacfarinas' death, to despatch envoys to Rome to ask the emperor's pardon.⁶⁹ On the other hand this victory allowed the Roman army to strengthen its control over the southern frontier.

Thus peace was established not only in Numidia, but also in Tripolitania and the southern regions. The survey of the tribal territories

of Cinithii⁷⁰ (Tripolitanian tribes) and generally the territories south of the road Tacape-Amaedara was carried out.⁷¹ Vast areas of the lands were reclaimed and became agri vectigales.⁷²

At this time there was no consistent style of organisation; the aim of the Roman administration was to maintain order and safety in whatever way was practicable. Therefore some tribes were driven to the southern regions, others were attributed to the nearest centres.⁷³ The Garamantes remained quiet in the Garama region until 70 A.D. when they invaded the region of Lepcis Magna.⁷⁴ The fortified positions of Blaesus may have become permanent outposts to the west.⁷⁵ The new survey of territories proceeded south in pace with the advance of the Roman army. Thus Africa, which comprised at the time of Augustus, Tunis and Tripolitania, included part of the southern territories at the time of Tiberius.⁷⁶ After the defeat of Tacfarinas Tripolitania enjoyed a prosperous period. Although the name of Tiberius did not appear on many public projects, some projects were carried out in the region, such as the theatre at Lepcis Magna and the routes which link the city with the interior.⁷⁷

In A.D. 37 two important developments had taken place, both initiated by the emperor Gaius; the command of the Legion (III Augusta) was removed from the proconsul of Africa and given to a legate appointed by the emperor and responsible directly to him. Africa had been abnormal in that it was a senatorial province with a military command.⁷⁸ Tacitus and Dio Cassius suggest that Caligula's action was based on his fear of the proconsul.⁷⁹ But that probably was not the main reason as the position of the proconsul of Africa was anomalous with respect to the rest of the empire. The change is acceptable in the light of prevailing circumstances at the time.⁸⁰

As a matter of fact there were two sectors, each of which required a different treatment. The southern territories which were troublesome and still rebellious, needed strong military control, while the northern regions of Africa, long under Roman control, needed civil government. Although the boundaries between the two sectors were fluid, the authority of the proconsul extended over the coastal areas of the northern part of Numidia, Africa Vetus and Tripolitania,⁸¹ while the power of the legate of the legion must have extended over the frontier zone of Africa proconsularis, including Bu Ngem (the east-southern borders of Tripolitania) and at the end Cydamus (Gadames).⁸² The legate was authorized to make his way through the civil government's territories to exercise some military affairs or to supervise fortifications.⁸³ In any case the division of power did not necessitate the division of the tribute.⁸⁴

The underlying causes of this change seem to hinge on the economic importance and social value of the province to the Roman empire. The nature of this economic importance can be summed up in this phrase "the granary of Rome" which meant that the population of Rome depended almost entirely on grain supplies from Africa for its food.⁸⁵ To such an extent, indeed, did Rome depend on the supplies from Africa that even a temporary hold-up in supplies could bring the city to the brink of starvation. This is probably clear from the episode of Clodius Macer, the legate of the army in Africa, who tried to gain power after the death of Nero. He minted money in his own name and used his troops to stop the grain ships from sailing for Rome, aiming at threatening the population of Rome with starvation. He probably did that to be in a position to dictate his terms for resuming the passage of supplies.⁸⁶ But he was suppressed on the orders of Galba, who was in power at Rome.⁸⁷

In effect the proconsul was invested with both administrative

authority and military command and had the right to proceed according to the mandate which he received from the emperor. But it seems that he misgoverned the province of Africa and acted arbitrarily in her affairs. ⁸⁸

As he had a considerable army under his command, he made a dangerous rival to the emperor and he could make trouble if he wanted. Therefore it seems that the elaborate military arrangements which have been described were undertaken to protect the province of Africa and its settled way of life from disturbances whether internal or external. Later, at the time of Septimius Severus (the end of the second century A.D.), the process was carried to its logical conclusion, when the military area was entirely separated from the proconsul's jurisdiction and constituted as the imperial province of Numidia, with the legionary legate as its governor. ⁸⁹

The other development for which Gaius was responsible was the elimination of the last Libyan kingdom in Africa (the Kingdom of Numidia). In year 40 A.D. this emperor ordered the assassination of Ptolemy and the annexation of his kingdom to the empire. This was probably the result of a decision by Caligula to undertake direct responsibility for the government and defence of Mauretania.

The revolt which this measure inflamed in Mauretania and led by Aedemon was suppressed by Suetonius Paulinus. ⁹⁰ The other one led by Sabalus in Mauretania was repressed by Hosidius Geta. ⁹¹ This revolt was echoed in southern Numidia and it was quelled by S. Sulpicius Galba. ⁹² This is in effect the last tribal rebellion recorded in Numidia for two centuries. The rest of Claudius' time and that of Nero seems to have been relatively peaceful, both in Numidia and Africa proconsularis. But after the death of Nero in A.D. 68 the Roman empire was plunged into a year of civil war, during which three emperors (Galba, Otho and

Vitellius) followed one another in rapid succession before Vespasian established himself as undisputed head of the empire. The year of the Four emperors had its repercussions in Africa, where Clodius Macer, Legate of III Augusta, declared himself independent after Nero's death, only to be assassinated by the procurator of Mauretania.⁹³ During the reign of Vitellius, Luceius Albinus tried to be independent. As he failed to get the support of the African forces, he invaded Spain, but he was defeated and killed.⁹⁴ Valerius Festus, the Legate of III Augusta, was a relation, and ostensibly a partisan, of Vitellius; but when the eastern legions put up Vespasian as rival emperor, Festus secretly transferred his allegiance. After Vitellius' defeat at the Battle of Cremona (69 A.D.), the new legate openly sided with the victor and put to death Calpurnius Piso, the Proconsul of Africa, whom he suspected of supporting the remnants of the Vitellian faction.⁹⁵

Once Vespasian was safely on the throne, the crisis of the succession was over, and peace re-established in Rome and the provinces. It seemed possible to concentrate on the truly African problems.

While the Roman authorities were preoccupied with dynastic struggle, Lepcis and Oea had taken advantage of the situation to settle a private dispute between themselves. The conflict began with a small border-raid on crops and livestock and kidnapping messengers, but, roused no doubt by commercial rivalry, soon developed on a large scale.⁹⁶ Oea, militarily inferior to Lepcis, risked an alliance with the Garamantes of Fezzan, and these formidable allies penned up the citizens of Lepcis within their walls, while devastating the surrounding countryside. And no doubt this caused great damage to the economy of the city as a fair portion, at least, of the wealth of Lepcis came from her olives.

On that occasion Lepcis made an urgent appeal to the Roman troops, and at length Valerius Festus intervened. A force of auxiliary infantry and cavalry, sent to relieve Lepcis, dispersed the Garamantes, and recovered a part of their booty and drove them back into the interior. He also captured many of the Garamantes who were probably tortured in the amphitheatre of Lepcis Magna⁹⁷ as one can see from the scenes depicted in the Zliten Mosaic.⁹⁸ After settling the discord between Lepcis and Oea, Festus went on to follow up and exact punishment for this aggression on an imperial city, and probably to prove his ability to the new emperor Vespasian,⁹⁹ or to make a demonstration of force in the southern regions of Tripolitania, as his predecessor Cornelius Balbus had done before. He was lucky enough to discover a route which was four days shorter than any previously discovered, known as the "Head of the rock" Hoc iter praeter caput saxi.¹⁰⁰ Much discussion has been given to this route: which probably passes through Bu Ngem-Hon- or it leads straight across Mizda-El-Hamada El-Hamra- but it cannot be identified with any certainty. Although the second one is difficult, it is rather shorter than the first.¹⁰¹ Festus pursued the Garamantes to the territories beyond Caput Saxi (El-Shwaref) and as he was afraid of his supply routes being cut, he could not advance further than that.¹⁰² Therefore the Romans made fortified positions at Gerza, Jado, and Garian.¹⁰³

Benabou mentioned that the alliance between Oea and the Garamantes demonstrates that relations between tribes and the cities were not systematically hostile. He added that, had the Garamantes not been involved, the conflict would have remained purely local and the Romans would not have intervened.¹⁰⁴ In effect the relations between tribes of the hinterland of Tripolitania, especially the Garamantes, ^{with the cities} were unfriendly and they used to seize every opportunity to invade the rich

coastal cities for booty or probably to establish their presence.¹⁰⁵

On this occasion the importance of the coastal area probably entered into the calculations of the Garamantes during the trouble of 70 A.D. Having the region of Lepcis Magna they thought to control the whole region of Tripolitania. Thus the alliance between the Garamantes and Oea was purely casual. On the other hand as Tripolitania was a part of the Roman imperial territory in North Africa, the Romans would interfere in any case to settle the dispute between the two main cities in the region.

After this the Romans subdued the Garamantes and relations developed between the interior of Tripolitania and the northern area. also commercial exchanges increased between the Garamantes' towns in the south and the coastal cities in the north of Tripolitania and this was due to the consolidation of the Roman's control on these regions and the protection which they provided for the caravan routes.¹⁰⁶ In the end the Garamantes were obliged to accept the Roman friendship and this is explicit from the recourse of their King to the Romans to support him against the desert tribes which used to invade his country and the Ethiopian bandits who usually attack caravan-traders.¹⁰⁷

In any case it seems that this campaign achieved its aim, for not long afterwards the Romans were able to use the Fezzan as a base for two long expeditions into the interior of Africa.

Ptolemy tells of two exploratory expeditions to the interior regions south of Tripolitania. The first one took place in the reign of Domitian (81-96 A.D.) under the leadership of Septimius Flaccus, the legate of the Legion III Augusta. The leader of the second, a certain Julius Maternus of Lepcis Magna, was perhaps a trader or negotiator

rather than an officer. The probable date of his expedition is around 91-92 A.D.¹⁰⁸ Although one had a military leader, their purpose seemed rather to judge the possibility of future action throughout the domains than to conquer, for the Roman authorities were only interested in profitable annexation.¹⁰⁹ Ptolemy says that according to Marinus of Tyre, Septimius Flaccus' expedition took three months from Libya to the land of the Garamantes in Ethiopian territory, and that of Julius Maternus took four months to cover the route from Lepcis Magna, via Garama, when he was accompanied by the King of Garamantes who was marching against the Ethiopians in Ethiopian country called Agisymba where the rhinoceros congregates.¹¹⁰

But Ptolemy added that as the Ethiopians and the Garamantes were the same and governed by one king, the period of four months to cover the route between Garama and Agisymba is too much and he concluded that the narration is mythical.¹¹¹ Also Zonaras criticized Marinus' data and confirmed that the two peoples were the same.¹¹² Some authors¹¹³ followed Ptolemy and Zonaras in thinking that the Garamantes and the Ethiopians were one people, others distinguished them from the Ethiopians.¹¹⁴ On the race of the Garamantes, modern scholars differ. S. Gsell mentioned that they were dark-skinned and placed amongst the Ethiopians.¹¹⁵ G. Picard contradicted this by saying that they were not Ethiopians.¹¹⁶ Sergi says that the Garamantes were related to the Tuaregs, and Pace named them a white, mediterranean race, naturally coloured dark.¹¹⁷ However, anthropological researches have classified the skeletal remains of the populations of Fezzan contemporary with the Roman period as a mixture of "eurafricani" and "eurafricani negri-formi".¹¹⁸

Any way even if the narration of Marinus includes some exaggeration

and inaccuracy, it should not be totally excluded or considered as myth. The first expedition was an intimidatory campaign if not purely one of conquest, and it might have been aimed indirectly at the Garamantes, since they undoubtedly played an active part in the second. This campaign gave the Romans the idea for the second, which they probably saw as both necessary and advantageous; Maternus was no doubt interested in the sources of the trans-Sahara caravan trade and that probably actuated him to advance in the southern regions as far as he could until he reached Agysimba which became the uttermost limit for the Romans' penetration in Africa.¹¹⁹ This country (Agysimba) is usually identified either with Lake of Chad or with Air (Asbine) or, in one case, even the Niger. Since it was a mountainous country and Ptolemy did not mention any lake or big river belonging to the Sudan and the aim of the expedition was the subjugation of the Saharan tribes which were spreading in the oases such as Asbine, the more plausible is Air (Asbine).¹²⁰ But Barthelot did not agree with this suggestion because Asbine is not inhabited by Negroes and there is no rhinocerus in it and the period of four months is too long to cover the route from Garama to this oasis. At the end he suggested Amadawa instead of Asbine.¹²¹

Merighi contradicted this by saying that Ptolemy did not refer to the Lake of Chad and there is no evidence which confirms that it did not exist in the first century A.D. Regarding the four months to cover the route from Garama to Agysimba (Asbine), it is not much if we take into consideration that the expedition was fighting against a deceptive enemy using guerilla tactics. On the other hand the Ethiopians were subject to the Garamantes and the two peoples were governed by one king and the Garamantes' authority extended to Tibesti. It does not seem that Amadawa was under their control. As for the rarity of the rhinocerus in Asbine, it was probably there before it perished and this is probably

confirmed by its existence in the region of Guber,¹²² which is not far from this oasis. As the rhinoceros is scarce in North of Middle Africa, some have suggested that Maternus' expedition either crossed the great desert or made a circular journey.¹²³ Although the extent of Roman penetration of inner Africa in these two instances is not certain, some scholars suggest that the second expedition reached the Sudanese steppe.¹²⁴

In any case the discussions in favour of these various places are conjectural, and as none is very plausible they can be excluded here and the identification of the mythical Agisymba left an open question.

During the reign of Domitian, military campaigns continued against the rebellious tribes in Mauretania¹²⁵ and the interior of Tripolitania.¹²⁶ More strictly military in purpose was an expedition led by the same commander of III Augusta, Septimius Flaccus, against the Nasamones tribe in eastern Tripolitania (85-86 A.D.).¹²⁷ Herodotus records that the Nasamones were like Garamantes brave and aggressive.¹²⁸ Others mentioned that they had previous conflicts with Romans over their robbery and brigandage.¹²⁹ As the Nasamones were living within the Roman frontier, they were probably subject to Roman taxation, but had risen in protest against the exorbitant demands of the tax-collectors, some of whom they put to death.¹³⁰ On his first encounter with the rebels Flaccus was badly defeated and the Roman camp fell into the Nasamones' hands. But this success was the tribesmen's undoing. The camp contained large quantities of food and wine, with which they made merry instead of following up the Romans. While they were sleeping off the effects, Flaccus suddenly returned and put most of them to the sword - only a small number withdrew to the desert. At the end this tribe was brought into obedience by the terms imposed after the war.¹³¹

Ayob stated that the Romans pursued the Nasamones to the Tibesti Mountains and destroyed their capital (Zella). He adds that this is the only expedition which Flaccus led against the Ethiopian country.¹³² But this is not supported by the evidence and it is contrary to Marinus of Tyre's data, the gist of which is that at almost the same time of the Nasamones' revolt, two other expeditions were dispatched to the south against the Ethiopians.¹³³

Domitian had been informed about the outcome of the campaign. He boasted to the Senate that the Nasamones had ceased to exist.¹³⁴ In the event, however, the Roman sources continued to mention this tribe after these dates. It seems that the Romans did not annihilate the Nasamones, but they pushed them to the interior regions.¹³⁵ It seems unnecessary to follow Corradi in thinking that Zonaras' data was a mere anecdote because it must have some elements of fact.¹³⁶

In any case the result of these expeditions were great and led to the subjugations of the rebellious tribes, the imposition of taxation on the Nasamones¹³⁷ and alliance with the Garamantes who accompanied their expeditions into the southern regions. Eventually they helped them to consolidate their control over these territories. Further, and more important, the nomadic tribes' reaction against the policy of repression and the establishment of permanent bases in the southern frontier, all the way east from Juba's kingdom to Tripolitania, indicated how necessary it was to protect the southern frontier and secure some settlements from pillaging tribes beyond.¹³⁸ Owing to the lack of natural defences or permanent frontier (Limes) in the hinterlands of Tripolitania, the Romans took great care to defend them. They not only defeated the enemies, but they pursued them into the interior of the region. Moreover these expeditions enabled the Romans to penetrate deeply into the interior and that enabled them to understand the

geography of these places and the traditions and customs of the indigenous peoples. On the other hand they could achieve their economic purpose, control the routes of the Saharan caravan trade and secure its resources. Thus the first century A.D. was a period of extension of effective Roman sovereignty among the nomadic peoples of the interior, and of peace and prosperity. The road system was a means of joining the interior to the sea at the sea ports.¹³⁹ Naturally the main centres especially the Emporia were quite prosperous.

The natives, now compelled to give up their nomadic way of life, were obliged to use their land in a more intensive way. Agricultural development began at once where conditions were suitable and extended as better adaptations to the soil and climate were discovered. Vast areas of land alienated from tribal ranges became large private¹⁴⁰ or imperial estates¹⁴¹ or were given to veterans,¹⁴² like those near to Gasr Doga (70 km. south east Tripolitania) and Wadi Soffegen and Nfed.¹⁴³

CHAPTER IV

TRIPOLITANIA IN THE AGE OF THE ANTONINES

With the advent of the Antonines all of the area of the south of proconsularies and the west of Tacape was under Roman control, as was the adjoining part of Numidia. The progression towards the south has been demonstrated by the discovery of a Nervan milestone from the Tacape-Lepcis road.¹ The importance of this road was great: to undertake its construction and maintenance seriously could only come after the defeat of the Nasamones, for it controlled relations with Cyrenaica and even with Alexandria.²

The ease with which the expansion of the frontier zone seems to have taken place in the second century A.D. must be attributed in part to the Roman military policy and the lack of resistance by the tribes. There is no doubt that the extension and establishment of the frontier brought peace. It also brought the problem of developing the newly occupied territories.

The settlement and exploitation of the occupied territories started at the time of Augustus and Tiberius. They settled Italian emigrants who became bankrupt after the agricultural crisis in Italy. The two emperors also wanted to satisfy the Roman capitalists who wished to spend their money on the production of wheat whose market was profitable. Trimalcion, who had a lot of property, wanted more land in Africa. This greediness to occupy the Berbers' territories led to the incorporation of Numidia and Mauretania without any military necessity. Pliny noticed this avidity and said that half of Africa was owned by no more than six landlords, as early as the reign of Nero.³ In any case although the large scale Augustan settlement of veteran, in their coloniae along the

African coast, necessitated displacement of some Libyans, the majority of the inhabitants in these territories were native, as is suggested by recent studies.⁴

The cadastral survey of the tribal territory could have been seen as the first step towards its appropriation. It was also a practical means of breaking up the political unity of native alliances by defining tax liability.⁵ The Roman settlement was probably the reason which actuated Tacfarinas to demand for a "sedes" and "Concessio agrorum".⁶ The Tripolitanian tribes, the Garamantes and Cinithii, may have had similar reasons for joining the revolt of the Musulamii.⁷

Romanelli has suggested that it was especiallyⁱⁿ the Cinithii's territory that the centuriation of 29 A.D. was carried out.⁸ The Cinithii were placed by Ptolemy on the shore of the lesser Syrtis where Gigthis is.⁹ They were prominent in the town to which they were attributed. Under Roman government Gigthis was developed as a centre.¹⁰

The rebellion of the Nasamones in the time of Domitian should be seen as a reaction to Roman attempts to make a cadastral survey of their traditional land, and that would probably prevent them from their seasonal movement to their land in the oasis of Augila where its inhabitants had to yield their date crops each year to the Nasamones.¹¹ After the defeat of these tribes, they withdrew to their southern territory in the Augila oasis and it seems that they were divided into separate political sub-groups with a view to breaking up their political unity and to their being fixed within reasonably defined limits, settled, productive and tax paying.¹²

Thus appeared the unknown Madcuuvii and Zamucii on the coastal agricultural territories of major Syrtis, who had obviously split off from the Confederation.¹³

The Garamantes were placed by Herodotus in Fezzan,¹⁴ and during the Roman period lived in their territory which extended from Fezzan to a zone adjacent to Major Syrtis.¹⁵ After their defeat in 70 A.D.¹⁶ they remained quiescent and their area of settlement was probably in the rest of their territory beyond the zone of the frontier. The area assigned to them was fairly large, stretching to the region of Fezzan; the land is poor, and it seems that sheep-raising and trade continued to be an important element in the economy. And as the Romans took the place of Carthage, they inherited her commercial relations with the Garamantes.¹⁷ But it is not necessary to infer that the tribes remained fully nomadic. Their capital Garama was situated in the oases of Wadi el-Agial and Wadi el Shatti, where there are exceedingly fertile lands.

Archaeological evidence has confirmed the coexistence of sedentary agriculturalists side by side with pastoralists in ancient as well as Roman times in the hinterland of Tripolitania.¹⁸ This was the same in other parts of Africa in the Roman period^{which} Sallust noticed in the zone of the Muthul river (Modern Mellange) as a region of both cattle and crops "consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur".¹⁹ Also the archaeological evidence, especially the Neo-punic inscriptions discovered in the basins of the wadi Soffegin and the wadi Zemzem has confirmed that the Tripolitanian predesert area was already settled to an appreciable degree by Libyans in the first and second century A.D.²⁰

The settlement and limitatio of the tribes in Africa was followed by a period in which its tribal occupants were hemmed in poor and limited territories so as to prevent future rebellions. This system is explained by the boundary stones set up by the legates at the occasion a tribe was contained in a territory.²¹

Of the 516 populi (tribes) recorded by Pliny there is evidence for ten to whom land has been assigned.²² The Tripolitanian tribes whose boundaries were settled in the time of Domitian were the unknown Maducivii and Zamucii whose reservations were on the coast of Syrtis Major.²³ Thus Trajan was not the first to apply the system of reservation which assigned the tribe some land and enabled it to continue as a corporate entity.²⁴ But it is true that he applied it on a wide scale in North Africa, when he took major measures to settle the southern frontier of Roman Africa. To meet the incursions of the tribesmen and to close the gateway of the desert, he consolidated the line of the frontier with its forts below Chatt El Fejaï, passing south of Lepcis Magna.²⁵

Trajan settled the Musulamii in a poor part of their territory where their capital Theveste lies. He distributed the rest of their land between the landlords. The boundary-stones show that the process of delineation took place over 16 years between the legateship of L. Munatius Gallus (100-105),²⁶ and that of Acilius Strabo (116 A.D.).²⁷ A section of the Numidae tribe was moved from their territory near Madauros and Amaedara (Hydra and Aegenia) and settled in new territory, but the majority of this tribe remained around Thubursicu Numidarum (50 km south west of Sug Ahras), which was later elevated by Trajan to be a municipality.²⁸ Under Trajan the Nybgenii tribe²⁹ was settled

on poor land near Chatt el Fejaj and a boundary was established between their territory and that of Tacape.³⁰ What was alienated from the territory of the Nybgenii was given to this town, and Capsa.³¹

The Nybgenii were considered a civitas stipendiaria and had a similar status to that of the two Municipia Tacape and Capsa and constituted a legal entity.³² The capital of this tribe lies in the oasis of Telmina (Tunis Tamaelini). It was made a municipium by Hadrian.³³ A section of the Suburbures was settled near the Chatt El-Beida in the legateship of Acilius Strabo.³⁴ Regarding the condition of the tribes at the time of reservation it is usually assumed as unchanged; nomadism, as in the pre-Roman period. According to the point of view of some scholars the tribes were either settled with a view to teaching the agriculture or urban life, or their original range was crudely expropriated, depriving them of their productive lands and giving them no chance to pursue their traditional economy.

For Racht the results of reservation was "L'extension de la cere-liculture, de la viticulture, de l'arboriculture et des culture marai-cheres dans des regions ou l'on vivait auparavant de la chasse et des paturages".³⁵ For B nabou the tribes were "detach es avec leur terres de leur cadre biologique traditionnel".³⁶ Fentress has argued that it is probable that the African tribes were not wholly nomadic and a degree of settled agriculture was practised in some areas before the Roman period.³⁷ B nabou has argued that there is a general reciprocity between the nomadic herdsman and the sedentary farmer or in other words between desert, mountain and plain and the consequent need for frontiers which "exercise an effective control on transfer of tribes and movement of caravan" rather than "to exercise a permanent military blockade".³⁸

Thus he does not accept the blockade theory which says that all nomads were either settled or pushed behind the frontiers.³⁹ Troussset believes that the function of the frontier was, "to regulate the seasonal movements of nomads between the forward zone and the hinterland of the 'limes'".⁴⁰ The importance of the inner line of frontiers was to control the pastoralists in the 'waiting zone' between the double frontiers "exterior and interior" and not to allow them to trample the crops with their herds.⁴¹

The alienation of the tribal ranges and the encroachment of private properties, led to the delimitation of the territories settled by the tribes.⁴² Septimius Severus and his sons continued the policy of expulsion of the tribes from their territories with a view to gaining more productive lands and to maintaining security for the rich coastal area. Tertullian expressed the need for the land to meet the increase of the population with the small range of human activities at that time.⁴³

Thus the Romans drove away the tribes to the Sahara as far as they could so that they could exploit their productive lands. The advancement of the limes, in Tripolitania, Numidia and Mauretania, is good evidence for this military policy which aimed at alienation of the tribal ranges by force.

In any case this imperial policy resulted in dividing the land of the indigenous peoples into two parts: a part, which was the smallest, was left to its ancient owners, many of them were compelled to work as labourers in vast lands. The other part was divided into vast parcels handed to the imperial family or to the aristocratic senatorial class and a part of it to the towns inhabited by the veterans and the aristocratic Berber class.⁴⁴

In the whole of Proconsularis from the eastern frontier of Tri-

politania to the eastern limits of Caesarean Mauretania, peace and stability were established by ^{the} existence of a considerable number of troops, of which the majority were on the southern borders. Thus in the cities tranquility and stability were ensured.⁴⁵ Territorial expansion ended with Trajan. The rest of the century was spent in consolidating and building up the new additions in southern Numidia until Septimius Severus pushed the frontier a little further to the south and resystematized the limes (limes Tripolitanus).⁴⁶

Although Trajan was concerned more with military matters or territorial expansion than with a desire to equalize the status of those cities which were still non Roman and had libyco-punic populations with elements already possessing Roman citizenship, he elevated Lepcis Magna and Hadrumetum to colonial status. No doubt this advancement in status came as a result of a considerable degree of Romanization and prosperity which these two cities had achieved.⁴⁷ However, at the beginning of Trajan's reign, Lepcis Magna was greedily oppressed by Marius Priscus, the Proconsul of Africa in 97-8. He acted in the city through the agency of his legate Hostilius Firminus who had taken money from Flavius Marcianus, a member of the Council of Lepcis. Marcianus had paid the sum of 700,000 sesterces to Priscus, in return for which the proconsul had inflicted various punishments on one of Marcianus' enemies, a Roman knight, whom he had beaten, sentenced to hard labour and finally executed. Pliny, who describes the affair, mentions that a certain Vitellius Honoratus had paid 300,000 sesterces for a Roman knight to be exiled and seven of the man's friends to be put to death.⁴⁸ The Proconsul and his legate's atrocities actuated Lepcis to send one of her sons into the Senate during the reign of Trajan; this is confirmed by an inscription, from Lepcis, which gives details of his official career.⁴⁹

Priscus was accused of certain minor charges for which he was convicted and deprived of his rank. Pliny and Tacitus were appointed Counsel for the province and they could report to the Senate that more serious offences were being passed over: Priscus was trying to avoid trial for these by his plea of guilty on the first counts. At the second session of the Senate devoted for hearing, the emperor Trajan presided as a Consul (January 100 A.D.). Listening to the prosecution's speech by Pliny and Tacitus and the witnesses summoned from Africa, the Senate found Priscus guilty. But his punishment was not severe - simply exile from Italy and repayment of the bribe money into the treasury. Marcianus and Ferminius suffered a comparatively minor retribution.⁵⁰ Although Priscus lost the money that he had corruptly collected in Africa, his property was not touched and it seems that he spent a good time on his estates in the Spanish province of Baetica. The victorious province did not gain much and her people did not recover their money.⁵¹

Hadrian vigorously followed Trajan's policy in constructing camps and consolidating the southern frontier of Mauretania, Numidia and Africa (Tunisia).⁵² Also he continued the policy of limitatio and settlement of the tribes and the tribesmen were limited to assigned territory and turned the rest of the land to more productive and fruitful use than the pastoral areas.⁵³ His law regarding lands which have been left uncultivated for ten years as revealed by inscriptions found in some places, in Africa, such as Ain Wassel and Ain el Ajemala, indicates a more specified policy of development.⁵⁴

Hadrian's legislations granted privileges and offered encouragements to tribesmen to cultivate unused lands on their account and for

that they were offered special security of tenure and exempted from tax on their olives and vines until they were fully grown, while their staple crops were permanently untaxed.⁵⁵ It seems that as a result of these facilities and encouragement some of the smaller Tripolitanian olive-farms were established by tribesmen.⁵⁶

As the emperor was interested in provincial affairs, he made a journey to Africa (around 128 A.D.) where he visited the headquarters of the legion at Lambaesis.⁵⁷ The permanent camp had just been constructed when he visited Africa.⁵⁸ There he watched the military activities and the manoeuvres. He was pleased that the soldiers were trained perfectly and he admired their skilfulness at using the weapons and the way of besieging the enemy.⁵⁹ Although there were no tribal disturbances at this time in Tripolitania and Numidia, the case was different in Mauretania. We are informed that there were tribal revolts in Tingitana in 112 and 118.⁶⁰ Under Antoninus Pius the two Mauretanian provinces (Caesariensis and Tingitana) were joined under one praeses Uttedius Honoratus.⁶¹ Bénabou has argued that this was just an attempt to eradicate the sources of disturbances in the hinterland of Mauretania, rather than a specific revolt.⁶²

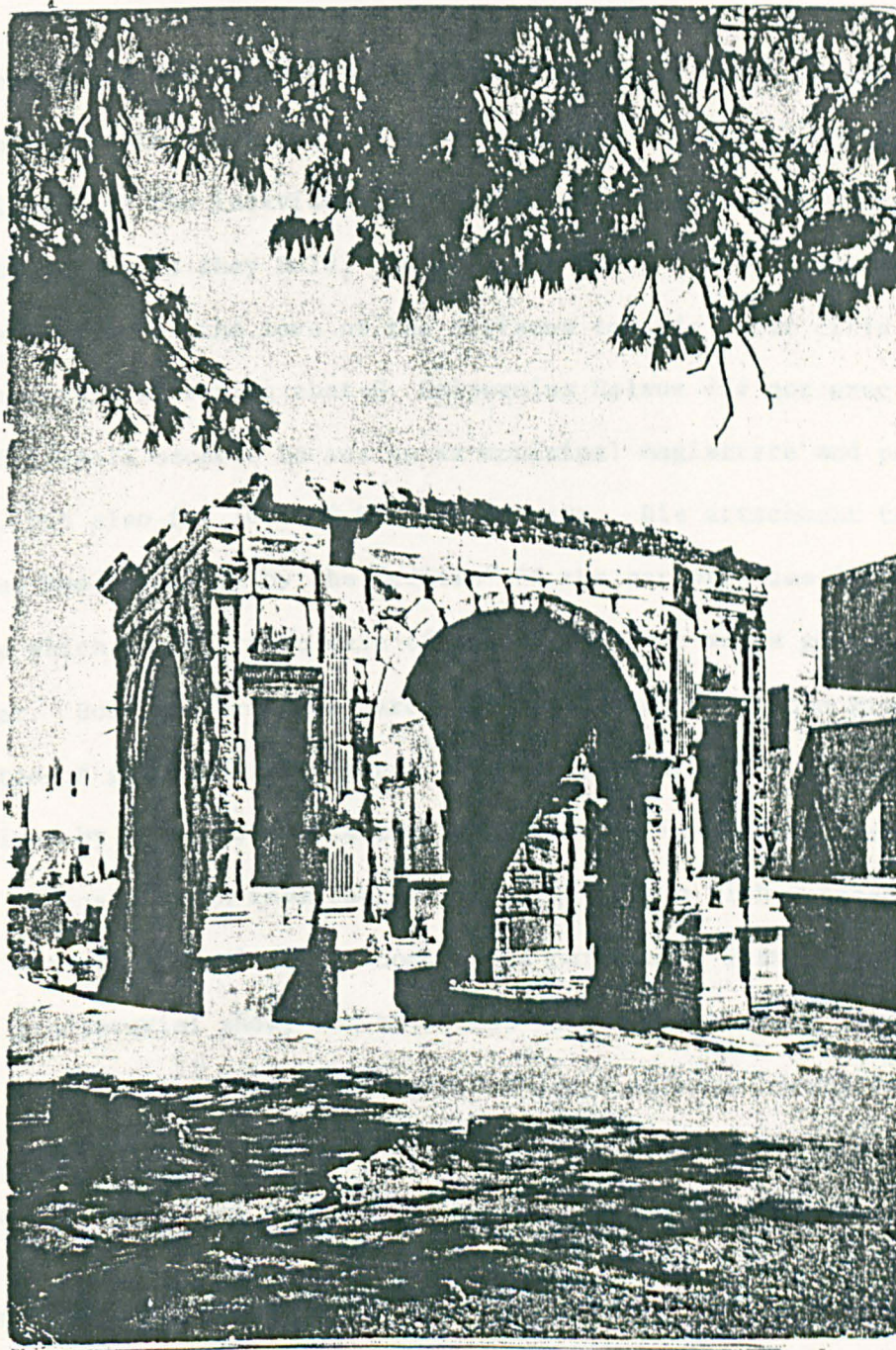
In spite of the rebellious movements in Mauretania⁶³ the Roman African regions enjoyed a period of peace and stability during the time of Antoninus Pius. He maintained justice and consequently the political stability and economic blossoming in the empire were confirmed.⁶⁴ No doubt that had its reflection on the African regions including Tripolitania. As he was interested in the provinces, he imposed supervision over their governors in order to protect the ^{provinces} from exploitation. He was ready to hear the complaints of the peoples of the empire and if any

offence was discovered, the offender was usually punished or deposed. In brief he devoted himself to the prosperity and luxury of the empire and in particular the people of the provinces. Thus the cities and municipalities competed in demonstrating their gratitude by erecting trophies for the emperor and named some of their curiae after his family.⁶⁵ This is exactly like Sabratha which named seven of her curiae after this emperor.⁶⁶

As for the ties of the Tripolitanian cities with the imperial house. In Lepcis Magna the recent excavations revealed great public works which, in the period, give us proof of the ties of the cities with the imperial house. One of them is the four-fronted arch of Trajan, in all likelihood to be connected with the elevation of the city to the status of colony (109/110 A.D.).⁶⁷ In Oea, there was also erected a four-fronted arch which commemorates the victories of the Romans against the Parthians in the first years of the empire of Marcus Aurelius and of Lucius Verus (163 A.D.).⁶⁸

An inscription from Pozzouli bears a dedication of the 'Oeanses ex provincia Africa' to a certain Bennius Rufus "procurator imperatoris Caesaris Augusti". It is deduced from it that the imperial house possessed vast private properties in the territory of Oea, just as it possessed some in many other places.⁶⁹ Also two epigraphs are recorded by the inhabitants of Oea and of Sabratha to a certain Emilius Clodius "procuratoriu... (rationis) privatae regionis Tripolitaniae"⁷⁰ and therefore procurator of the personal properties of the Tripolitanian region.

This confirmation is more than sufficient to enable us to understand besides anything else on what sort of solid foundation the devotion of



The quadripartite arch of M. Aurelius, at Oea

(Photo: department of antiquities of Tripolitania).

the Oeanses and Sabrathenses to the imperial house rested. Aurigemma mentioned that the works of interest or public ornament and the various liberalities of the individual personalities are sometimes connected with the positions they hold, and at other times they are the spontaneous expression of the love of the citizens towards their cities. He confirmed this by saying that G. Calpurnius Celsus did not erect the arch of Tripoli because he was an ex-municipal magistrate and perpetual flamen, but also for love of his native city. His attachment to this was also made manifest by the "editio" of the performances in the amphitheatre which he had taken care of and of which he was a generous provider. Such performances were, as is well known, of two kinds, and consisted of gladiatorial fights.⁷¹ Performances of the same kind were also given by other Tripolitani who held the flamine: for this period an inscription from Sabratha records that a rich citizen who exalts the city's merits. It concerns a certain C. Flavius Pudens who gave a gladiatorial show, for the first time in his native city, which lasted five days.⁷² Also an epigraph bears a witness to the fact that due to Titus Clavius Vibianus (a native of Lepcis Magna), a performance was given at this city.⁷³

But independently from the imperial cult and from the liberalities arising from the provincial duty of the flamine, the private citizens often provided for their city through their love of their native places. This is clear from the benefactions which were given to the cities by some of their rich native citizens, such as the gift of ten statues to Oea and two to Sabratha in their wills.⁷⁴ Other important works like the restoration of the baths at Lepcis Magna were due to a certain Cornelius Attax Marcian⁵us and to Appius Amicus Rufinianus.⁷⁵

Aurigemma argued that the well-being of the coastal cities of the region, which permitted such liberalities, came from agriculture and caravan-trade. The investment of money in land was, in Africa, a lucrative affair for those citizens who could ensure the exploitation of the "latifundia".⁷⁶ Some of these latifundia arose from the alienation of property which had once been the grazing-ranges of indigenous nomads. The development of the hinterland of the region and the increase of its agricultural production had given the Tripolitanian cities, Lepcis, Oea and Sabratha, their prosperity which qualified them to get their colonial status in the time of Trajan.⁷⁷ No doubt Lepcis Magna had become prosperous during this period of peace on the proceeds of her olive farms.⁷⁸ Romans demonstrated their interest in the development of agriculture of the region especially at the time of the Antonines by the policy of settlement and limitatio of the tribesmen to limited assigned territories and of converting the rest to more productive fruitful use than before.⁷⁹

CHAPTER V

The Severan Period (A.D. 193-235)

The murder of Commodus plunged the Roman world into a period of confusion and disturbances,¹ similar to what followed the death of Nero (A.D. 68-69).²

Also at this time the Roman armies on the frontiers interfered in the selection of the emperor. The killing of Pertinax and the corrupt election of Didius Julianus, which came about through the action of the Praetorian guards on 28 March 193, produced an immediate reaction in the capital as well as in the provinces, but with completely different results.

Septimius Severus governor of upper Panonnia, where three legions were under his command, was proclaimed emperor at Carnuntum on 9 April 193, from which date his reign was counted.³ Even in Syria the same reaction was shown, and before 14 June Niger had already been proclaimed emperor, as is shown on an Egyptian papyrus bearing that same date and name; the literary tradition is in concordance with the chronological evidence about Niger and Severus.⁴

Although the Roman plebs, in Rome, supported the cause of Niger and Albinus could pose a serious threat to Septimius Severus, the latter did not hesitate to take the initiative and advanced towards the south and seized Rome.⁵

The political ability of Septimius Severus is readily revealed in the carrying out of a clear and direct policy. His avoidance of any compromise with Didius Julianus and his going directly to Rome without delay at once provided the key to the matter and enabled him to obtain

the entire and uncontested command over the Senate and the Central Government in Rome. His clever agreement made with the powerful Albinus, protected his rear and his hand became free to confront his most dangerous rival Pescennius Niger.⁶

Having obtained this, he made haste to rid himself of his rival in the east, and having achieved this aim, after tough and difficult battles, he turned towards the west against Clodius Albinus whom he eliminated in Lugdunum⁷ (Lyon in France). When Severus returned to Rome from Lugdunum, those who had had dealings with Albinus were afraid and every one of the senators pretended to be loyal.⁸ In fact as a consequence of the victory over Albinus,⁹ Severus sent some forty-one senators to their death; their names are recorded in the *Historia Augusta*.¹⁰ Since Dio¹¹ states that twenty-nine of the senators who followed Albinus were killed, one rightly concludes that the other twelve were supporters of Niger.¹² More than a third of the executed senators "were closely connected by birth or by property-ownership with proconsular Africa".¹³ A natural deduction of this cruel purge was the infusion of more funds into the treasury "ratio privata".¹⁴

Barbieri concluded that Severus for obvious reasons of expediency, avoided being too severe with the senators who followed Niger, in order not to arouse any excessive bad feeling in the senate, but once he no longer had any dangerous rivals, having defeated Albinus, whilst he was armed he gave vent to his anger on those who were unarmed and unable to defend themselves.¹⁵

This puts in a nutshell Septimius Severus' policy - tough but astute and calculating, and able to weigh up the pros and cons of his action in order to avoid making any mistake which would have

irreparably compromised his plans.¹⁶

When Septimius Severus obtained the entire and uncontested command over Rome and the Roman provinces and became the sole emperor, the Romans felt that this emperor was different, in his race, education and social origins, from the Antonine emperors. As he secured the throne for himself through a military coup, they were afraid that he might not follow the Antonines' policy and consequently they might lose stability and happiness which they enjoyed during their rule.¹⁷

It seems that the changes in the empire were mirrored, in a very real sense, by the identity of its rulers. Therefore the origin of Septimius Severus is of some importance. Thus it has been hotly disputed.¹⁸ Historians and biographers agree that Septimius Severus came from a somewhat modest family (ortus medio humili),¹⁹ which had a specifically African character, even if certain of its members had gone to Rome in the 1st or 2nd century and made a career there. This African origin is postulated from several facts; one of them is Statius' dedication to his friend L. Septimius Severus: the poet's praise has no meaning unless L. Septimius Severus was African.²⁰

Furthermore, the *Historia Augusta* describes Severus' ancestors as: equites Romani ante civitatem omnibus datam.²¹ The omnibus can only make sense if the emperor's ancestors were Lepcitanians themselves.²²

The Augustan History describes the emperor's ancestors as Lepcitanians and Severus all his life spoke with an African accent (perhaps Punic) and his sister was scarcely capable of speaking Latin and that caused embarrassment to the emperor when she came to visit him. He gave her gifts, granted her son the latus clavus and ordered them to return

to Lepcis (their patria) as soon as possible.²³

In his study of the Emperor Septimius Severus' origin, P. Romanelli concluded that the Emperor was of indigenous Libyan-Punic blood from his father's side and of Italian blood from his mother's side.²⁴ But in spite of all the "africitas" which the biographer points out in Severus and his sister, some historians had sought to prove that the Septimii of Lepcis were possibly not Punic, but a family of immigrant-Italian stock.²⁵

T.D. Barnes did not accept the story in the Augustan History about Septimius and his sister and he considered it as a type of fabrication which was made to discredit provincial people. He added that the Septimii belonged to the municipal aristocracy of Tripolitania, who looked down upon those who spoke only Punic as lower-class, since Latin and Greek were "the languages of culture and education. He also asserted that Septimius Severus did not value "the language or the culture it represented even if he may have known it."²⁶ But his assertion is not supported by the evidence and it has no ground, while there is much evidence to demonstrate that Severus did in fact prize his origins: his ambitious programme for the extension and beautification of Lepcis Magna and honouring his Di Patrii are enough proof of that.²⁷

The family history is one of a slow rise. From the 1st century onwards, the family was amongst the notables of the native Lepcitanian bourgeoisie. The head of the family must have been raised to the rank of Roman Knight towards the middle of the first century A.D. From then onwards, the family was noted and mentioned. No sooner had they become Roman than one of them went to Italy, settled in a property near Veii in the south of Etruria.²⁸ Thus an Italianised branch of the Septimii was born which gave birth to Lucius Septimius Severus, the friend of

Statius.²⁹ At the same time in Lepcis, another Lucius Septimius Severus - or perhaps it was the same man - was climbing up the echelons of power. There is no doubt that it was he who played the principal role in transforming Lepcis into a colony. As Sufet his task was to oversee the reform of the constitution.³⁰

He was also the first to receive the task of duumvir in the new colony. In following generations, the family is always divided into two branches, Italian and Lepcitanian. Severus and Aper³¹ were senators in the Italian branch. In Lepcis Septimius Geta preferred not to take part in public life, he married Fulvia Pia, and they had three children: the future emperor, a boy named Geta, and a girl, Septimia Octavilla.³² The future emperor was born on 11 April 145 as is now generally agreed,³³ though the *Historia Augusta* and Cassius Dio contradict each other regarding this point.³⁴

Thanks to the standing of his relatives Severus and Aper, the future emperor was able to join the Senate and get himself noticed. From there he began his brilliant career, until exceptional circumstances took him to the throne.³⁵ Under the empire the Septimii were a family of the equestrian order, as in general were the families of rich, provincial bourgeoisie. This family got the equestrian status through some of its sons who went to Rome and established themselves there and became eminent through their service in the government.³⁶ The emperor's mother is Fulvia Pia, who is recorded in two inscriptions of Leptis Magna as well as in the *Historia Augusta*³⁷ and her father "Fulvius Pius" is mentioned in the same passage of the *Historia Augusta*.³⁸ The Fulvii of Lepcis were probably either Roman or Italian descendants in Lepcis, who settled there between the end of the 2nd century B.C. and the time

of Augustus, for commercial purposes or for other reasons.³⁹

The Fulvii of Lepcis used to call themselves Lepcitanians, probably to distinguish themselves from the other Fulvii, who were a large family with innumerable representatives throughout the Roman world and particularly within Africa.⁴⁰ The Lepcitanii Fulvii belonged to the Quirinia⁴¹ and that indicates that the Emperor's mother descended from a family which obtained Roman citizenship around the end of the first century.⁴² The Quirinia is recorded as the tribe of two magistrates of the municipium.⁴³

The gens Fulvii of Lepcis have some men who were eminent in the rich native bourgeoisie of Lepcis; one of them is Dida Bibulianus.⁴⁴ The other is C. Fulvius Plautianus,⁴⁵ the powerful prefect of Severus,⁴⁶ who is found on inscription in Lepcis Magna.⁴⁷ His daughter Fulvia Plautilla married Caracalla and she with her father was overwhelmed by the tragedy which eventually led to their downfall.⁴⁸

In any case we may conclude that the Fulvii and Septimii of Lepcis were leading provincial families. The first were Italian immigrant traders in the city. They were probably part of the first contingent of Romans attracted by the profits which were gained from Saharan trade.⁴⁹ They were probably descended from a plebeian family in origin with hardly a representative of note before the first century. As for the Septimii, as there is no evidence in the Augustan history, or elsewhere, that the Septimii came from another origin, we thus postulate that they came from Punic stock and consequently their language and culture were Punic. The Punic inscriptions attest the importance of this language which continued to be used as official language, besides the Latin, during the first two centuries of the Roman empire.⁵⁰

Regarding the career of the future emperor and his activities in Africa. In the year 173 he was selected by C. Septimius Severus, the proconsul of Africa, as one of his three Legati propraetore. One was to remain in Carthage as deputy for the proconsul, the second in Hippo-Regius, the third for supervising Bycena and Tripolitania with Hadrumetum and Lepcis Magna as his chief centres.⁵¹

The presence of C. Septimius Severus is attested at different places of the province. At Lepcis Magna his name was recorded, together with that of Septimius his legate, on the inscription from an arch dedicated in 174 A.D. in honour of Marcus Aurelius.⁵² The erection of this arch, at the expense of the leading men of Lepcis, provides a good evidence for the wealth and love of the people, for their own city.⁵³

T.D. Barnes argues that C. Septimius Severus, the proconsul of Africa, was not an African senator and even though Lepcis Magna was still his patria he never visited it before his proconsulate (173/4) and in spite of his patronage of the future emperor and helping him to get the latus clavus, he never thought of himself as a Lepcitanian.⁵⁴

The future emperor himself showed enthusiasm for classical culture and respect for Roman tradition.⁵⁵ It is probably relevant to mention that when the legate L. Septimius Severus arrived at Lepcis, escorted by his guards, and was embraced by an old acquaintance, he had the man beaten on the pretext that no plebeian should behave like that with a legate of the Roman people.⁵⁶

The reason for this arrogance and severity was probably borne out of his anxiety for what lay in store for him in future.⁵⁷

Before his accession to the throne, he was not particularly distinguished and one of the posts, which he held before his promotion to the Consulship (probably in 190 A.D.) was *proconsul of Sicily*.⁵⁸ A year after his Consulship he was appointed to the Command of the Roman army in Upper-Pannonia, one of the Danube frontier provinces. This appointment made him Commander of one of the three largest Roman armies, at that period, in Syria, Pannonia and Britain. It has been assumed that the three Commanders were deliberately selected by Laetus, the Pretorian prefect, because they were thought mediocre and nonentities and that they would not interfere with his plan for replacing Commodus with a new emperor.⁵⁹ But it does not seem that mediocrity was the main reason for these appointments. We are informed that Clodius Albinus was famous chiefly for his noble birth.⁶⁰ L. Septimius Severus was descended from an aristocratic Lepcitanian family⁶¹ and was an orator⁶² and had been a Commander of a Syrian Legion stationed near Antioch⁶³ and a proconsul of Sicily (189/191)⁶⁴ before his appointment as a commander of the Legions in Upper Pannonia.

As these two men were Africans it seems this was the main reason for their appointments as commanders of the two largest armies and probably was the same reason for which Septimius Geta, the future emperor's brother, was entrusted with command of two legions in Moesia interior.⁶⁵

Also Pertinax,⁶⁶ presumably for the same reason, was selected to replace Commodus. Barnes⁶⁷ believes that Laetus got rid of Pertinax when he found him too headstrong, but it does not seem that he had a hand in his murder and "The coup can only be explained as an act of *mutiny* by troops."⁶⁸

In any case the fact that all these men were from African origin is a clear indication that the Praetorian Prefect, who was himself an African, was attempting to seize the empire for African hands thinking they would not interfere with his plans to replace Commodus with a pliant emperor through whom he could increase his power and influence.⁶⁹

When Septimius Severus was safely on the throne, the crisis of succession was over and peace was established in Rome and the provinces.⁷⁰ He showed himself merciful and though he condemned no one merely for his property, the confiscation in Africa was important that it necessitated the appointment of a senior official, the procurator T. Clodius Xenophon, as a supervisor.⁷¹

The fact that the emperor was of African origin and born in Lepcis Magna has led some scholars to state that he showed special favour to the province of Africa, and that inhabitants would in return feel an enthusiasm for him,⁷² while others have rejected this assumption and considered it as false.⁷³

As a matter of fact the emperor's excessive generosity to Lepcis Magna, as his patria, did not necessarily mean that he favoured North Africa as a whole or even Tripolitania. Oea and Sabratha seem to have escaped the strong contrasts that characterize the fortunes of contemporary Lepcis. No doubt they profited from the measures undertaken by Severi for the security and prosperity of Roman Africa as a whole. But there is little to show that they obtained any individual favours during this time.⁷⁴ In any way as we mentioned above he valued his origins and there is evidence of it in the issue of coins honouring his Di Patrii namely Bacchus (liber pater) and Hercules, the patron gods of Lepcis, to whom Severus built a temple at Rome and introduced them into

the traditional ceremonies of the ludi Saeculares.⁷⁵

He showed his interest in the Africans by building the Septizonium at Rome. It was similar to the Septizonia in Africa.⁷⁶ The emperor's chief thought was that Africans arriving in Rome would be influenced by the sight of it.⁷⁷

Men from Roman Africa were now coming to the fore in increasing numbers, entering the Senate or gaining important procuratorial posts.⁷⁸ The emperors of the Severan dynasty liked to surround themselves with Africans especially Lepcitanians who were promoted to be procurators or entered into the Senate.⁷⁹ Amongst the most powerful African politicians at this time, was C. Fulvius Plautianus, both contemporary and fellow citizen of Septimius Severus. He knew how to use these facts to his advantage: he became praetorian prefect, then his power increased until he attained great influence with the emperor.⁸⁰

Plautianus like his master, Severus, showed special favour to his native city; as a rich citizen of Lepcis Magna he ordered a load of gray marble to be despatched, between A.D. 202 and 205, for the adornment of Lepcis Magna: "to be sent to the splendid Lepcis Magna by the high honourable Fulvius Plautianus, Prefect of the Praetorian guard and son-in-law of the master".⁸¹

Also M. Junius Punicus was a fellow citizen of Septimius Severus; he was appointed as procurator of Thrace, then of Alexandria, thanks to the favour of the emperor; in 200-201, he had four statues erected in honour of the Imperial family. Thus he was one of the Lepcitanian Knights to whom Septimius Severus liked to entrust important posts.⁸² Like Punicus many of the Lepcitanian bourgeoisie were able to lead honourable careers thanks to Septimius Severus; the men who were

favoured by this emperor can be recognized by their particular devotion to the imperial family: there is not one who did not feel bound to erect a statue to the emperor and members of his family as a sign of gratitude or the desire to have themselves appear in a good light before their fellow citizens.⁸³ The same Severan period also claims a number of functionaries of equestrian rank in Lepcis, who all owed their access to procuratorian duties to their Lepcitanian origin: apart from Junius Punicus, D. Clodius Galba,⁸⁴ who was procurator regionis Thevestivae et Hipponensis, then, procurator rationis privatae per Flaminiam Aemiliam Liguriam, between 203 and 205; M. Alpius Cerealis⁸⁵ procurator of two Augusti, towards 198; Flavius Celer⁸⁶ procurator of three Augusti between 209 and 212. Pudens⁸⁷ was from Lepcis Magna. He was "Tribunus plebis candidatus et praetor" under Severus.

Quintus Marcius Dioga⁸⁸ was the prefect of Lepcitanian Annona under Caracalla; he is one of the Lepcitanians who owed their career to the Severan dynasty.

As Lepcis played a very important part in the supplying of oil to Rome, it was not absurd to entrust the prefecture of Annona to a Lepcitanian. The Tripolitani, in gratitude to Severus, offered an extra free supply of oil for Rome, as a gift, which was then, in later reigns, interpreted as an obligation until Constantine released them from it.⁸⁹

Not only the Lepcitanians who gained important posts at this time, but other men from Roman Africa were appointed as Senators, Knights and minor officials in the Roman army.⁹⁰

It has been proved that Severus introduced a considerable number of Africans into the Senate, and in doing so he altered notably the

previous proportions between Italians and provincials and took from the Italians the unjust privilege which they enjoyed before.⁹¹

In any case it seems that Severus preferred the Africans to carry out his policy because he had already known them and could trust them, and that does not prove "Any racism, or despising Italians in favour of Romans of Semitic origin."⁹²

This is probably confirmed by the fact that the number of men from Africa, drawn into administration and conducting the empire, had never been more than at this time; and this increase came after it had sharply decreased under Commodus.⁹³

It is true here that the servants of the central and provincial governments were drawn from the whole empire,⁹⁴ but the appointment of a considerable number of administrators and Senators from Africa, may be regarded as a sign of favouritism and national patriotism on Severus' side. His attitude towards the province of Africa is distinguished by excessive generosity: "It is apparent that Septimius Severus bestowed special favors on his native Africa".⁹⁵

These include the splendid project of buildings at Lepcis Magna, the bestowal of Ius Italicum on Lepcis and other African cities, the adjustments of the Limes which maintained security to the productive parts of the province and the caravan routes.⁹⁶ The large number of dedications to the imperial family demonstrated the prosperity of Africa, and attest that Severus showed special favour to the African cities and in return their inhabitants demonstrated their enthusiasm for the Severan dynasty.⁹⁷

There has been much discussion of the question of whether Septimius Severus felt it necessary to return to Africa to personally inspect

the state of progress of the military measures he had ordered and to see if any new needs had arisen. Although there is no mention of the visit in contemporary literary sources (except a hint in Philostratus, VS.2.20),⁹⁸ it is possible to state that he did return to his native province and notably to Lepcis Magna, where an inscription⁹⁹ confirms the visit and a magnificent arch was erected to commemorate it,¹⁰⁰ and at the same time to confirm that joint rule is not divided rule: Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla constitute one single entity.¹⁰¹ Inscriptions record his visit to headquarters at Lambaesis,¹⁰² where he demonstrated his concern to improve the amenities of military life,¹⁰³ and restorations to the streets seem to be carried on the occasion;¹⁰⁴ another inscription from Cirta "For the welfare and safe return home",¹⁰⁵ of the imperial family, seems to indicate a visit to the city. Also there is the possibility that he visited Carthage and Cirta.¹⁰⁶ Some scholars¹⁰⁷ believe that the reason for the emperor's visit to Africa was his interest in military measures, while others¹⁰⁸ think that he did it only because he wanted to go there, without military or political necessity. But we think that the main reason for his visit to Africa was the increasing pressure from the Libyan tribes beyond the Roman frontiers and their threat which actuated him to order a radical reorganisation of the limes and at the end to lead a military campaign against these tribes and push them to the south.

He bestowed the ius Italicum on Lepcis, Carthage and Utica. This honour gave them immunity from provincial taxation, and assimilated their territory fiscally to the soil of Italy.¹⁰⁹

Possibly in the case of Lepcis this privilege should be considered as pure devotion to his native town, and probably it was a part of a programme for giving the provinces a new dignity in relation to Italy.¹¹⁰

As a mark of gratitude, the citizens of Lepcis Magna added the title of 'Septimia',¹¹¹ to their city and took that of 'Septimiani',¹¹² for themselves by which the citizens indicated their imperial connection. At about the same time three of the curiae seem to have added to their names in honour of the new dynasty: Severa Augusta,¹¹³ Pia Severa (presumably Severa Pia)¹¹⁴ and Severa Alpia.¹¹⁵

Cultural life was, no doubt, stimulated by the presence of the distinguished intellectuals whom he assembled from every land.¹¹⁶ The city was beautified with many public buildings by Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla,¹¹⁷ which made it even more splendid. This great group of structures are still impressive in their ruined state, such as a huge new forum, a basilica (completed in 216) a monumental colonnaded street running between the forum and wadi lebda down to the harbour. Also the circus was enlarged and restored and the water supply was improved. Septimius Severus erected a great temple to his di patrii; Bacchus (liber pater) and Hercules.¹¹⁸

These great works which Septimius Severus undertook for adorning his native city actuated Dio to accuse him of wasting a great sum of money on repairing older buildings and erecting new ones.¹¹⁹

It seems that the impact of eastern art was obvious in the sculpture work that was done in Lepcis during the reign of Severus.

The emperor had invited some architects and sculptors from Asia Minor
 To Lepcis Magna.¹²⁰

While the emperor Septimius Severus was in Lepcis certain unspecified tribes, in whom we probably recognise the Garamantes and the Nasamones, who were war-like, raided the coastal area. The emperor

led a military campaign against these bellicosae gentes.¹²¹

Mercier mentioned that after the defeat of this people, the Roman troops followed them into the heart-land of the Fezzan and established fortified positions for the surveillance of the territory between the coastal area and Garama.¹²² But others believe that the Roman troops pushed the invaders beyond the Roman frontier and did not follow them.¹²³ We feel that we can accept Mercier's view because it would not be possible to subdue, completely, these war-like tribes without following them into the interior as Cornelius Balbus and Festus did before. This would make them feel that their strongholds were accessible to the Roman troops and the Roman's long hand could reach them.

This probably confirmed by Aurelius Victor who says "The emperor freed Tripolitania, his native region, from fear of attack, by crushing the most warlike tribes".¹²⁴ The Romans could not crush these tribes and guarantee the security of the coastal area without conquering the strongholds of these tribes in the interior.

The Roman troops which participated in this campaign probably consisted partly of praetorian Guards and some cohorts of the Legion III Augusta and auxiliary troops from Numidia. On this occasion the legionary centurion, T. Flavius Marianus indicated a thank-offering to the Syrian God Jupiter Dolichenus at Lepcis "For the safety and victory of our Lords the emperor and his two sons Caracalla and Geta".¹²⁵

The western parts of the Roman territory in North Africa were troubled by the increasing pressure from the nomadic tribes of the south; two inscriptions attest military activity, during this period, in southern Numidia. The first refers to a vexillation "Morans in Procinctu"¹²⁶ at Menae to control a major passage through the Aures, the second

records another "Morantes ad fenum secandum"¹²⁷ near Casae. Also there is evidence for the threat from barbarian Moors against whose incursions the limes had been set up.¹²⁸ Sporadic revolts may have taken place in the Mauretanian provinces. They were caused by the Saharan tribes who were deprived of their seasonal movements towards the pastoral area in the North which were indispensable for the survival of their animals. They ignored the Roman surveillance on the southern frontier and headed stealthily first westward (as early as 201 A.D.), infiltrating between the fortified positions. Thus ravaging the areas recently cultivated they then advanced eastward in the hope of getting sympathy among the tribes of Tripolitania. Although the latter's attempt was quickly repressed by the emperor (203 A.D.), the Mauretanian tribes took advantage of the new breakthrough by the great nomads and took up arms and caused more trouble to the governors of both provinces of Mauretania, before they could subdue them.¹²⁹ In any case the military policy which Severus followed towards Africa, especially the creation of the limes Tripolitanus, maintained peace and prosperity of the African provinces during this period. This is confirmed by the large numbers of dedications to the imperial family.¹³⁰

The adjustments of the limes continued at the time of Caracalla (211-217). His military operations at Cydamae involved some construction or garrisoning troops at the site.¹³¹ Duveryrier deduced from the inscriptions, which he discovered near Sidi Mabad at Cydamae, that the Roman occupation of the site lasted a long time and that Constantine's borders extended to include Cydamae and indicated that the Romans, for their cultural relations, preferred the direct road which leads to Cirta - Lambaesis and Cydamae to that of Sabratha and Oea. He suggests that they probably united the administration of Cydamae with that of Lambaesis and not with any other Tripolitanian or provincial city.¹³²

But Merighi believes that the reason for this preference hinged on the fact that Cydamae was a military base and it continued to be a part of the province of Numidia.¹³³

Caracalla's reign continued the aims of his father, Septimius Severus, with the emphasis, however, on completion rather than expansion. He reconstructed the roads, and the four major routes of Tripolitania bear the marks of the emperor's intervention: several milestones have been found along them. The roads in question are:

The Tacape-Lepcis Magna route, which followed the Tripolitanian coast and formed part of the Alexandria-Carthage axis.

The route which followed the escarpment of the Djebel to the east and which led from the plateau of Tarhuna to Lepcis Magna.

The central route to the interior, linking Oea and Fezzan via Gharbia-Mizda.

The interior road which follows the course of the Valley Soffejin and links the two proceeding roads.

In any case there is much evidence that Military roads were built at this time, which connected coastal cities with advanced military positions.¹³⁴

Caracalla's reign is distinguished by the issue of the Constitutio Antoniana¹³⁵ by which all free inhabitants of the empire (except dediticii) were granted Roman citizenship (Civitas Romana). It seems that this legislation was aiming at increasing the revenues from certain taxes paid only by citizens, whose number, thanks to this law, increased for the benefit of the treasury. This draws its confirmation from Dio Cassius who mentioned that the Roman citizen used to pay 5% tax on inheritance and the freeing of slaves. This policy coincided

with that of his father when he granted Councils to the Egyptian major cities; their task was to collect taxes for central government,¹³⁶

Merighi argued that although the Constitutio Antoniana proclaimed general emancipation, it is not known why the free cities continued to be called municipalities and colonies with Italian and Latin right. He concluded that the liberation of these cities was apparent and not real.¹³⁷ But as far as we know this legislation concerned the citizen-status of individuals, and had no effect on cities. So the cities were not 'liberated' or 'emancipated' as others thought, but seem to have continued exactly as before. In any case the issue of this legislation equated the inhabitants of the provinces with Romans.

Caracalla was interested in the army and used to say "I am the only one who should have the money, to give to my soldiers".¹³⁸ He followed the advice of his father "to give money to the soldiers and despise everyone else".¹³⁹ He left administrative affairs to his mother and imperial Consilium. He also showed arbitrary behaviour in the affairs of the state and crushed his opponents; the members of the Senate were discontented with him and some of them were amongst his victims.¹⁴⁰

In 217 Caracalla was killed at the hand of the Praetorian prefect Opellius Macrinus who usurped the throne and was the first emperor who had reached the throne without being a member of the Senate. He was incompetent in war and made an ignominious peace with the Parthians and he decreased the military budget.¹⁴¹ This policy caused the anger of his soldiers and he was killed by them through the dispute with Elagabalus who was claimed to be the illegitimate son of Caracalla by Julia Soaemias,¹⁴² he claimed the throne and his soldiers compelled the Senate to recognize him as an emperor. The senators were like slaves

in senatorial cloaks'.¹⁴³ The fact that his real father was the ex-legate of III Augusta and the governor of Numidia, perhaps enabled him to get the support of many African adherents.¹⁴⁴

When he became emperor he took the name of "Marcus Aurelius Antoninus", devoted himself to spreading the worship of his god "Elagabalus" and carried his statue with him to Rome. He left governmental affairs to his mother and grandmother. The latter persuaded him to adopt the son of his aunt Julia Mamaea, Alexander Severus, and granted him the title of Augustus in 221 A.D. In 222 A.D. Elagabalus was killed by his soldiers after a revolt in Caesarea (in Mauretania) and Alexander Severus succeeded him (222-235 A.D.).¹⁴⁵ As Alexander Severus was still young (14 years old), his mother and grandmother, helped by the Praetorian Prefect Ulpianus and the Consilium, conducted the affairs of the empire until his grandmother died in 226 A.D. then his mother seized the power in her hands during his reign which lasted for thirteen years.¹⁴⁶ However, the accession of Alexander Severus put an end to the confusion which overwhelmed the empire and brought it to the brink of ruin. He took care of the Roman provinces and exempted them from unfair taxes imposed by Caracalla and his illegitimate son Elagabalus.¹⁴⁷ He built new roads and followed the military policy of Septimius Severus regarding the limes Tripolitanus and constructed new military fortresses such as el-gharia, el-garbia and Cydamae.¹⁴⁸ He strengthened the limes by creating the gentiles. (or limitane)¹⁴⁹ zone, behind these outlying posts, in the area covered by the basins of the wadis Sofeggin and Zemzem, which were "the backbone of the defensive system".¹⁵⁰

These military measures which Alexander carried out in Tripolitania maintained the protection and security of the productive parts of

the region and made their inhabitants feel secure and they devoted themselves to work and increasing the production. Later in 235 a military revolution broke out and the emperor and his mother were killed and the leader of the revolution Gaius Julius Maximinus was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers. Although Alexander was generous with his soldiers and granted them silver shields he failed to gain their loyalty.¹⁵¹

The murder of Alexander Severus put an end to the dynasty of the African emperors and plunged the Roman world into a period of military anarchy which caused a lot of damage to it. More than twenty emperors came and went with violence during the period of fifty years which followed the death of Alexander Severus. The enemies of the empire encouraged by the increasing disorder within the empire attacked its frontiers. This growing confusion had a deleterious effect on the economy of the provincial cities.¹⁵²

The fact that the Lepcitanians added the name of Gallienus' wife, Salonina, to their city's style and called themselves 'Saloniniani' as well as 'Septimiani', is clear evidence that they got imperial favors under the reign of this emperor (253-268).¹⁵³

However, until the decline in seaborne trade that followed the serious economic and financial crisis at the end of the third century A.D., invasions by tribes of the interior - which had never been completely brought to submission - became dangerous and more ruthless. Meanwhile the coastal cities declined under the administration of greedy bureaucracy; in the inscriptions of the time quietissimus is now the attribute most often given to the populus, while the ruling Magistrates become the ordo splendidissimus.¹⁵⁴

CHAPTER VI

THE LIMES TRIPOLITANUS

Before the limes was built, the Phoenician trade centres (Lepcis Magna, Oea and Sabratha) were protected by walls. It is an excellent means of defence against indigenous peoples who were completely ignorant of the art of besieging towns. Literary¹ and epigraphic² evidence attests that Lepcis Magna was surrounded by a wall and probably Oea and Sabratha were also. A sign of the willingness of the Romans to establish their authority over the Tripolitanian hinterlands as well as over African territories can already be seen at the time of Augustus, when the Proconsul Cornelius Balbus reached the country of the Garamantes and demonstrated, for the first time, the Roman power in those areas. As a result of this campaign the Romans acquired experience of African territory and people which previously they lacked completely. The campaigns which followed those of Balbus, Festus³ and Flaccus⁴ took advantage of the results gained by the first one: they had to push back the Libyan tribes, who threatened the Roman provinces. Thus as we have seen, the Romans depended for the defence of their territories on their power to strike deep into the interior with mobile forces and so eliminate the danger at its source. If any real emergency arose the legion of Numidia could be called upon. It seems that the Roman policy in the predesert area, during the first two centuries of the Roman empire, aimed more at the control of tribal affairs than the creation of steady defences.

But as the Roman troops had to make their way through the Sahara and to fight, in hostile country, against a deceitful enemy who neither

accepted nor gave a decisive battle and to meet the increasing pressure from the nomadic peoples of the interior, the Romans felt the necessity of abandoning this policy and establishing a system of static defences in depth, the limes Tripolitanus, which consisted of three distinct zones.⁵ Although it is confirmed that there was some activity under Commodus including garrisoning some military unit⁶ posts in the territory of Tunisia,⁷ the most remarkable change took place in the frontier situation towards the end of the second century A.D. Down to that time there is no trace of a coherent defensive system in Tripolitania, until the accession of Septimius Severus, native of Lepcis Magna. During his reign the activities of the legate of Numidia, Q. Anicius Faustus, were recorded in several African places such as Gholaiiae.⁸ In effect the fort at Cydamae, and Bu Ngem, Sidi Aoun and Castellum Dimmidi were built at his orders, while those at Remada and Bezereos were reconstructed.⁹

The small fort in the vicinity of Zerzi is the work of Septimius Severus,¹⁰ and the inscriptions found in the military road stations (Thenadassa,¹¹ Auru¹²) also refer to Septimius Severus and his sons. Furthermore, the great fort at Gharbia el-Gharbia is also probably dated at the time of Septimius Severus.¹³ This is in spite of the discovery of an inscription which records the erection of a "Burgus" under the orders of Alexander Severus, probably, in the vicinity of the El-Gharbia el Gharbia.¹⁴

The first three fortresses formed the most southerly element of the limes Tripolitanus in the region. All appear approximately on the same parallel and being united as well as separated by inaccessible desert or mountainous zones, give the impression of being a main line of defence. They were occupied by detachments of the third legion Augusta.¹⁵ These

forts were situated on the three main lines of communication between the interior and the coast of Tripolitania, while the usefulness of Bezereos can only be seen in the context of the whole set-up. It is situated on the line of defence which goes from Tacape to Lepcis Magna along the edge of the Tripolitanian mountain.¹⁶ In addition to their static defensive purposes, the initial purpose of these outposts was to hold the caravan trails which were important for the economic life of the province especially Tripolitania. Commerce with the interior of Africa was one of the sources of Lepcis' wealth. The main caravan trails followed two routes: the westerly one linked the Sahara with Tacape, Oea and Sabratha, via Cydamae, the easterly one joined Lepcis to the Fezzan via Gholaiiae (Bu Ngem) and Garama.¹⁷ The fortress at Gholaiiae (Bu Ngem) was very well built, with ashlar facing and monumental gateways. It was also obviously designed to have a considerable garrison. Its situation makes a suitable checking point between the oases of the Gofra and the coastal area. It maintains control over the area south east of Tripolitania and over the important road Lepcis-oases of Gofra (Hon-Wadan-Sokna)-Fezzan.

Goodchild has argued that one of the functions of the great fortresses to the south (Bu Ngem, el-Gharia, Cydamae), was propaganda. It was perhaps intended that the traveller on the caravan routes would become immediately aware that he had entered Roman controlled territory, and that his liberty of action was now under definite restriction.¹⁸

The definition of "prestige forts" that Goodchild wishes to give to the great southern forts seems risky, and that the Romans attributed a precise military value to these forts is demonstrated by the fact that they were not isolated: some forts were placed in the vicinity of these

fortresses such as Gasr Zerzi on one hand and Gheria escergia the "Burgus" built under Alexander Severus, the small oasis of Mago on the other. These small forts and probably other advance forts, connected ^{are known,} with Bu Ngem and el Gharbia el-Gharbia, and which contributed to the reinforcement of the control of the roads of access to the territory of the great wadian, will be discovered in future.¹⁹

The recent discoveries at Bu Ngem shed more light on the history of this fortress and the limes Tripolitanus. The inscriptions²⁰ found in ruins record that the legion III Augusta, under the command of Iulius Dignius, came to the site of Gholaiia (Bu Ngem) on 24 Jan. 201 A.D., started building the fortress and finished it before the end of that year. In the year 202 some cohorts of the legion left the fort for military tasks and returned to Gholaiiae on 26 Dec. 205, while the rest of the legion, under the command of Tullius Romulus remained in the fort. At this time the legion resumed building operations in the fortress and constructed a sanctuary of Jupiter Hammon, the local god of caravan trails.

Rebuffat, who studied these inscriptions, concluded tentatively, first, that the immediate departure of the cohorts from the fort indicates that there was a previous military plan to face the threat from the South.²¹ This is confirmed by literary sources which mention that, during this period, the emperor Septimius Severus put an end to the increasing pressure from the people of the South.²² He suggested that the cohorts who left the fort probably spent the period of four years in surveillance and maintaining security of the caravan routes which linked the coastal cities with the interior. He confirmed this by the inscription which records the thanksgiving of the Roman troops to the Jupiter

Hammon, the god of caravan trails. Finally he concluded that the Roman fortresses in the interior were purposely built for political control, and used as headquarters for the legion III Augusta to move from it to further places and return.²³

In any case in the light of the recent discoveries at Gholaiiae we feel that we can accept Goodchild's view²⁴ that the limes was organized to meet an actual threat and increasing pressure from the people of the south, and there is no need to follow J. Guey in thinking that from Commodus to Gordian III the Sahara "remained generally peaceful".²⁵ The Roman fortresses beyond the limes were used as advanced bases for the Roman forces and leading punitive expeditions. As for the Cohorts which left Gholaiiae (Bu Ngem) in 202 and returned in 26 Dec. 205 A.D. they probably spent the period of four years in patrolling the caravan routes and when the desert tribes invaded the coastal area, the cohorts joined the campaign which the emperor led against these tribes.²⁶ After crushing the invaders, they were probably entrusted with the surveillance and maintaining of security of the caravan routes, which link the coastal cities with the interior of the Garamantes' territory. Also there is another possibility that they could be sent to Mauretania to participate in repressing the uprising there. They remained there until they were ordered to go back to Gholaiiae.²⁷

The fortress in the western oasis of el-Gharia el-Gharbia is exactly twice the size of that at Bu Ngem, its external dimension being 183 m. by 132 m. It is one of the most important military positions in the whole limes Tripolitanus.²⁸ It is situated almost on the edge of the Hamada el-Hamra. In a dominant position it controlled both the nearby wells of Tarhuna - a necessary provision station for the caravans before entering the Hamada el-Hamra and the famous road which

linked the sea ports of Lepcis Magna and Oea, through Mizda with Garma (in Wadi el-Agaal). This road is probably that one through which the Roman troops, led by Valerius Festus, passed through there following the Garamantes who had dared to invade the coastal area and besiege Lepcis Magna.²⁹

As Septimius Severus took measures of a military character in favour of Tripolitania³⁰ and was the founder of ^{the} limes Tripolitanus, it is probable that this fortress was planned and laid by him and completed and dedicated by Alexander Severus who is recorded in an inscription found in the ruins of the fortress and on some milestones discovered in the territory of el-Gharia el-Gharbia.³¹ Also Cydamae, an important Saharan centre (later it was abandoned, after 238 A.D.³²), must have had its own garrison under Septimius Severus and his successors. The inscriptions attested the construction or reconstruction, during the time of Alexander Severus, by a centurion of the legion III Augusta.³³

Although no traces of its outline have yet been discovered, it had probably the same pattern as Gholaiiae (Bu Ngem) and el-Gharia el-Gharbia.³⁴ The construction of this fortress was probably after the submission of the Garamantes to Septimius Severus.³⁵

At the time of Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla,³⁶ another fortress was built at the meeting point of the Wadi Scia and the valley which leads to Bir Zummit, the affluent of the wadi Legues. Its huge remains are still to be seen.³⁷ Another fortress, which goes back also to Septimius Severus, is situated near by Si Aoun, and controlled the caravan route which linked the two Tripolitanian cities, Cydamae and Gigthis, with Tacapae.³⁸ The fort was constructed at the order of the legate of Numidia, Anicius Faustus (in the year 197), and occupied by a

cohort and Numerus.³⁹ At Bir Tarsin, 40 km. to the south of Thenadasa (Ain Wiff), there is a dedication to Septimius Severus, a clue to the presence of a garrisoned fortress on this site, that is on the other side of the massif of Garian- without the occupation of which, as was rightly noted by Goodchild and Ward-Perkins, the Gebel, with the support of Lepcis Magna would not have had any hope of being effectually defended.⁴⁰

The work of Septimius Severus was continued and perfected by his immediate successors: for instance Caracalla's milestones on the Zintan-Mizda and Oea-Mizda roads probably part of the redoubt - series on the Mizda-Gheria esc-scerghia caravan route. This could be proved by the "burgus" constructed under Alexander Severus in the vicinity of el Gharbia el-Gharbia.⁴¹

From his study of the Tunisian sector of the limes Tripolitanus, Cagnat⁴² concluded this whole frontier consisted of three types of defences:

- (a) large fortresses connected by smaller posts, along the whole of the linear frontier;
 - (b) a "fossa" and wall at the crossing points and in the valleys;
 - (c) fortresses along the main caravan routes to the south,
- the latter type represented by the three fortresses at Gholiae, Gharbia el-Gharbia and Cydamae. Regarding the linear defences of the "fossa" and wall, though Goodchild believed that the wall is only in the Tunisian sector of the limes Tripolitanus,⁴³ recent discoveries have revealed that this type of stone wall existed in Tripolitania; some lengths of it have been discovered in the Tripolitanian Gebel Garian 20 km. south of Asaba.⁴⁴ The length of this short wall is 7 km.

O. Brogan argued that its purpose was to control the seasonal movement of the animals to the area north of this barrier or that it was perhaps the boundary of the estate to which Medina ragda belonged. She added that it was not a military barrier, but it was used as a frontier post.⁴⁵ This wall is similar to the clausurae at the south Tunisian frontier especially that in the Gebel Tebaga which date to the fourth century A.D.⁴⁶ She concluded from the defensive positions in the vicinity of Hadd Hajar that this wall was the Fossatum of the sector of the limes Tripolitanus in Tripolitania.⁴⁷

Finally it is clear, as we have seen, that the position of the great southern forts, so advanced as regards the line of the limes originally marked by the Tacape-Lepcis Magna road,⁴⁸ was determined by the necessity to defend an area of notable importance for the economy of the entire region, as well as for strategic reasons. Purely strategic motives would not have justified a position so far beyond the limes, and on the other hand, as it will be explained later on how by Severan defence it stretched in all probability, to cover also the flanks of the agricultural basins of the great Wadis.⁴⁹

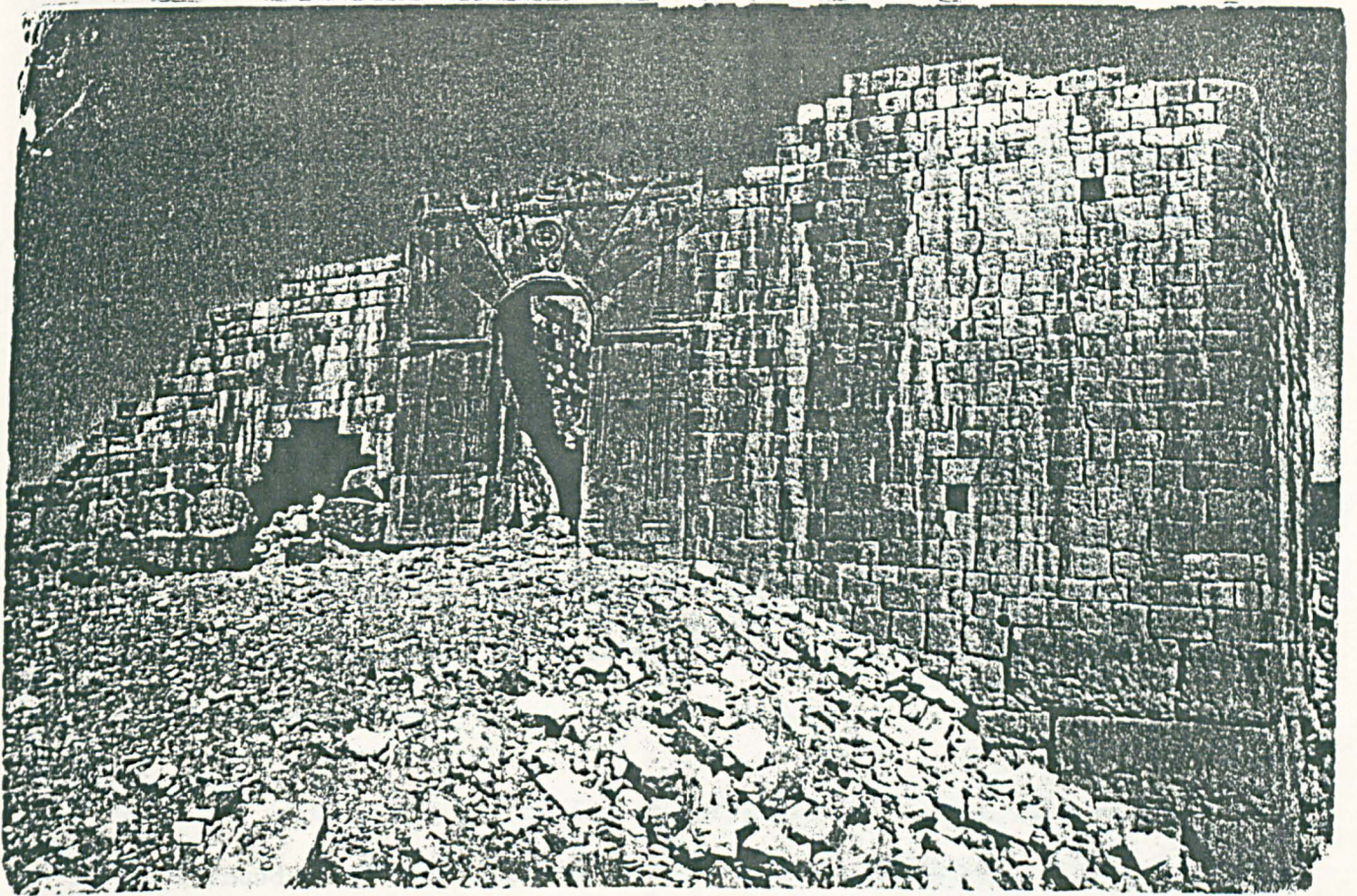
The archaeological researches of R.G. Goodchild, J.B. Ward-Perkins, O. Brogan and A. Di Vita in Tripolitania, have revealed the diversity and complexity of the frontier zone in the course of its historical evolution and in the light of geographical conditions which exercised a deciding influence on its organization and its execution.

A. Di Vita, argued that the central part of the limes was not a simple chain of forts, of a well-developed strategic road, but it widened to include a great band of predesert south of the Gebel to at least 250 km. from the coast.⁵⁰ Thus the limes cannot be reduced to the

strategic road of the Gebel as R. Cagnat thought.⁵¹

Behind this line of the three garrisoned fortresses, known on the edge of the desert at Gholaiiae, el Gharbia el-Gharbia and Cydamae, there lay a zone of the so-called fortified farms in the irrigated predesert area, mostly concentrated in the area covered by the basins and the wadis Soffeggin, ZemZem, Girza and Merdum and their tributaries. Their main area extends from 200 km. east to west and more than 150 km. north to south to make a rectangle between Mizda and el-Gharbia in the west and this line and the coast at Major Syrtis.⁵² According to Goodchild and Ward-Perkins the systematic occupation of the area contained between the Tacapae-Lepcis Magna road and the great forts of the south, Gharbia el-Gharbia and Gholaiiae (Bu Ngem), took place in consequence of the plans pursued by the Severans, to transform the predesert into a barrier of high strategic importance. At the same time this barrier was reinforced by establishing series of official centenaria, located in places obviously considered to be weak and needing stiffening.⁵³ The discovery of these fortified farms led Goodchild to suggest that the limes Tripolitanus zone, here, did not consist only of road systems and three major fortresses on the margin of the desert, but also a vast area of fortified farms, separating the rich coastal centres from the hostile tribes in the south.⁵⁴ Thus the Gsur settlement of Tripolitania represented the most large and solid system of frontier defence in depth in the Roman period.⁵⁵

The ruins of these fortified farms are known as Gsur.⁵⁶ The inscriptions found in these farms associated with the Gsur demonstrated that most were the work of indigenous people.⁵⁷ The typical fortified farm was a tall square, or nearly square, structure with a single entrance leading into an internal courtyard, onto which faced two or

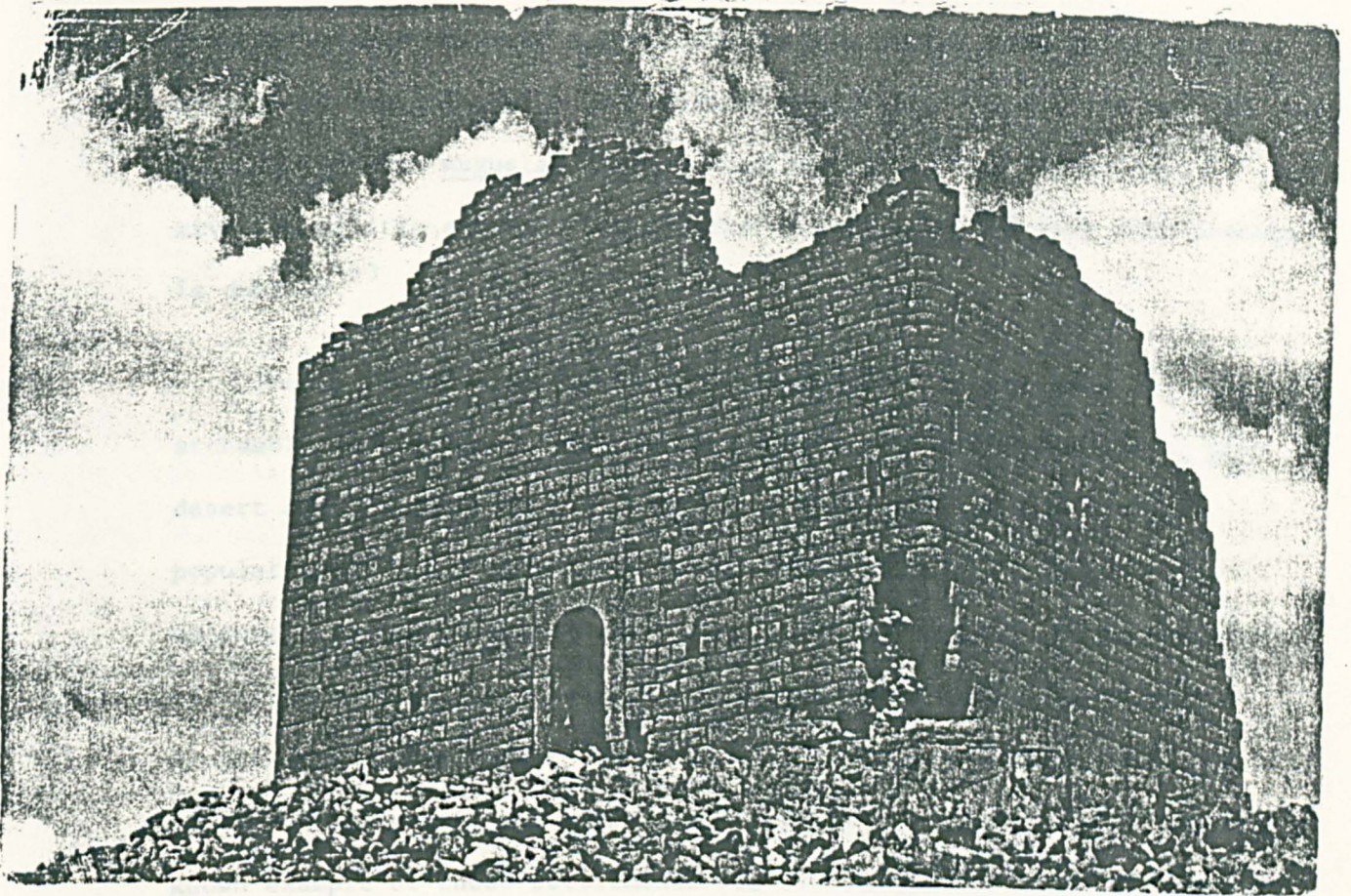


Fortified farm at Bir en-Nesma, wadi Soffeggin. The farm is notable for its richly decorated entrance. (Photo: department of Antiquities of Tripolitania.)

three storeys of rooms. Goodchild has already briefly discussed this typical fortified farm, which according to the technique of wall construction, he classified into three chronological periods. He proposed the dating of the first one around the earlier part of the third century A.D., and the second around the second half of the third century A.D. The third period continues into the Arab period.⁵⁸ But Di Vita contradicted this by saying that this dating is no longer valid now that at Gasr Zerzi (27 km. south of Bu Ngem) an inscription of Septimius Severus attesting a detachment of regular troops has been found in period II Gsur.⁵⁹

Concerning the dating of period-III Gsur that have so far been found in the predesert at Gsur el Banat - el Faschia - and el-Gheria esc-Scergia, the date proposed by Goodchild and Ward-Perkins was the time of Alexander Severus. But as these buildings present such technical and stylistic similarities with Severan monuments in Leptis, that it seems very probable that they could be dated to the period of Septimius Severus.⁶⁰ Di Vita concluded that the innovation in rural technique, in the buildings that are found in the fortified farms of large wadis, of the first and second centuries A.D., is the most apparent indication of new generalized concept of the farm destined, if necessary, as a fulcrum of resistance, to constitute, that is, the elementary units of the new defensive system of this part of the Tripolitanian limes.⁶¹

The fact that some of these fortified farm-houses were the bases of centuria looked after by regular troops and that were placed in easily defended positions and built so as to offer maximum security in case of attack - that induced Goodchild to see these buildings as essentially military and as having been entrusted to Libyan limitanei.⁶²



Fortified farm at Bir Shedewa, wadi Soffeggin. A well - preserved, tower - like structure with three internal storeys. (Photo: department of Antiquities of Tripolitania).

But it must be very dubious whether one should talk of limitanei in this period. There is no reference other than the unreliable Vita Alexandri in the Augustan History that even hints that such local civilian militia existed in the third century A.D., and even this passage is dubious.⁶³

The systematic researches and the study of the documentary and archaeological evidence from the Tripolitanian hinterland (Gebel, pre-desert and the forts at the limes) have shown that an agricultural population of mixed Libyan and Punic origin with Punic language and culture, was established in the interior of the region, certainly from the first century A.D. onwards.⁶⁴ The human settlements which these people established in the vast area of the pre-desert, especially the basins of the wadis, were imposing during the Roman period.⁶⁵ The best known example of these settlements was at Girza where there is "evident proof that the region was once cultivated and thickly inhabited".⁶⁶ A new type of settlement, of Roman character, as discovered in the middle of Wadi Girza. They include Gsur Magrusa, 1, 2, 3. Magrusa 1 is the largest one and resembled a strong point with elaborate gateway and it is similar to a Libyan one at Zinchechra near Germa in the wadi el Agial in the Fezzan.⁶⁷

The fortified farms are usually to be seen along the wadis at intervals of a kilometre or more, but a number of farms may be grouped together at the convergence of two or three tributaries where cultivable land is available. The best instances of these are to be found at Faschiet el-Habis in the wadi Merdum, Gsr Khnafes in the wadi Shetaf. Goodchild argued that the first gsur were designed and built by Roman architects, while the later were constructed by local libyans.⁶⁸

But the recent work by the UNESCO Libyan valleys survey has shown that some of the earlier sites such as gsur Bir Shedewa were initially built and occupied by Libyans. It concluded tentatively that 'the gsur may be seen not as a military phenomenon but as a result of change in the social and economic sphere of the indigenous population'.⁶⁹ O. Brogan from her studies of some ancient sites in eastern Tripolitania suggests that some of these gsur, in the limes zone, were built by the landowners who were stimulated by barbarian incursions to take measures for their security. She added that the careful sighting of many of later buildings indicates that one of their main functions was to guard the desert routes and signal the approach of strangers. Certain gsur were built on boundaries of estates, and their positions suggest that they were erected to guard the approaches to the main farms. She concluded tentatively that it is difficult to define the nature of the frontier guards or to distinguish military posts from civilian farms in the fourth and fifth centuries.⁷⁰ However, our interpretation of some of the Latino-punic inscriptions⁷¹ found in the limes zone show that some of these centenaria (or gsur) were private property built by the landowners in selected positions on their lands to provide security and to guard and protect the boundaries of their farms. An inscription from the centenarium (gsr) Wadi el Bir near Schemech (Wadi Sofeggin) records that a certain 'Flavius Dasama and his son Macrinus, the landowners, built 'this' centenarium to guard and protect the whole zone'.⁷² Another from over the gate of Gsr El Aziz near Bir Gebira (Wadi Merdum) records that a certain Viva Sibaus fulfilled a promise to his father and his son by erecting colonnades and portico.⁷³ This is another case of a family in which one of its members made a memorial to his father and his son, and no doubt indicates that this gsr was private property. Another one lay by sidi Ali ben Zaid

inscribed on a doorway of the gsr at Breviglieri. It mentions that a certain Thiana Marcius Cecilius constructed a centenarium and a small altar, and that he lived in a state of grace.⁷⁴

Another Latino-punic inscription from gsr el-Ureia (Wadi el Ureia) records that a certain Ansidon Viva ben Iban made a small statue as a sacrifice to his god.⁷⁵ There is also a Latin inscription from a gateway of a gsr in Wadi Mymun Darragh built by a Christian family in the fourth century.⁷⁶ The names of some of these landowners, their language and the way they offered their sacrifices confirm the prevailing view that the inhabitants of these gsur were Libyans or romanised Libyans with a Punic language and culture.⁷⁷ The fact that the tribunes of Bir ed Dreder were tribal chieftains from the tribes which were probably dominant in the limes zone, suggests that the inhabitants of these gsur were Libyan tribesmen. This may also be confirmed by an inscription from Sidi Sames (10 SE from Tazzoli village) which refers to the construction of such fortified buildings on a family estate to protect the inhabitants against an expected danger from the gentiles and barbari.⁷⁸ It seems that the former became hostile to the inhabitants of the northern parts of the region, otherwise they would not be a source of threat to these people whom they were supposed to protect from the latter (They would play a role in confronting the barbarian tribes such as the Austuri who invaded the coastal cities in the sixties of the fourth century).⁷⁹ This probably confirms A.H.M. Jones's hypothesis that the people settled in Goodchilds' fortified farms were Libyan tribesmen gentiles.⁸⁰ The inscriptions from Bir Dreder show that these gentiles were under direct supervision of their chieftains who were appointed by the Romans as tribuni, principes, responsible for administration and justice,⁸¹ and were responsible to Roman officers

(praepositi limitis Tripolitanae).⁸²

These fortified houses do not differ architectually^{r 83} from the official centenaria (like gsur Duib and Uames) and their function was to provide protection and security for their actual inhabitants and to that they were called centenaria.

We may conclude that there were two types of centenaria; official and private. The former were usually constructed by military architects at the orders of military commanders; in the inscriptions from these centenaria like gsur Duib, Zerzi and Tarsin, their names usually appear along with that of the garrison-unit.⁸⁴ The private centenaria were built by landowners or their agents; their names appear in the inscriptions from these gsur, for instance Wadi el Bir, el Aziz, Sidi Ali ben Zaid and Wadi Mymun Darragh.⁸⁵

However, in some of the inscriptions from these gsur appear the terms 'centenari', 'centeinari' and 'centenare'. These terms show, in the late IV century that in the mind of its Libyan constructor the 'gsur' was no less a part of the limes Tripolitanus than, for example, the official centenarium at gsr Duib.⁸⁶ This is probably confirmed by the distribution and strategic positions which these centenaria occupied. Some were placed on military roads for instance gsr Duib which is situated on a defensive position on the road which linked the Gebel escarpment on the north west with the frontier zone of the main Soffeggin and Zem Zem basins. Like Gsr Duib, Gasr Faschia in the wadi Zem Zem lies on a defensible position at the intersection of routes between Cholaiae (Bu Ngem) and Zem Zem. Others are constructed to control strong points in strategic areas unsuitable for cultivation by the gentiles,⁸⁷ or within the fortified farms where it was considered to be weak and needed strengthening.⁸⁸

They are generally placed on a defensible stop and at a convergence of wadis and their tributaries, especially where water is available,⁸⁹ or at intersection of routes, or on ground rising gradually from the head of the wadi (e.g. Gsr Uames). Their function, as is known, was to perform a military role such as the control of the movements of people and the flocks within the limes zone and the security of the productive area and also to block most caravan routes running from the south towards the coast and facilitate the work of the frontier police. The official centenaria (Gsur Duib and Uames), with the tribunes of Bir Dreder, were located in places considered to be weak and vulnerable in the west and occupied by regular troops. No doubt they played an important role in defending the area, between Zintan and el-Hamada el-Hamra, against the Libyan tribes advancing through el-Uaasa; and at the same time they could block the road Escerghia to Mizda-Tripoli and Mizda Zintan.⁹⁰

Di Vita suggested that these centenaria were built in the years 244-46 A.D., when the disbandment of the legio III Augusta brought about the abandonment of Cydamae (after 238 A.D.).⁹¹ But this dating is no longer valid, as the archaeological evidence demonstrates that these Gsur belong to earlier dates.⁹²

However, the recent discovery of a new inscription from ^{the} principia⁹³ of the fort at Bu Njem dated to 248 AD (reign of Philip the Arab) sheds light on military organisation of Tripolitania in the mid-3rd cent. AD and on the inscription from Gsur Duib.

Rebuffat suggests that the vex.golensi was in fact the remnants of the vex. leg. III Aug. whose name had been abolished, but whose men (at Bu Njem at any rate) may have been kept in service taking instead the name of Bu Njem, Colensis.

He added that after the disbandment of the legion III Augusta some changes became necessary and led to the creation of an overall regional commander the praepositus limitis Tripolitanae (or Tripolitanus). The precise history of the new command is uncertain, but it seems to be limited to the period of the mid-3rd century. He also suggests that the reference to a praepositus limitis in Gasr Duib is clearly another example of a praepositus limitis Tripolitanae and not a praepositus of the limes Tentheitanus, as is normally assumed, Gallicanus was presumably the predecessor of Marcellus (of Bu Njem) as praepositus limitis Tripolitanae, overall commander of the entire frontier from Greater Syries to the Chott Djerid.⁹⁴

VIII

The limes of Tripolitania is also mentioned in an inscription (CIL 22765) from Ras el-Ain Talalati in Tunisia dated to the reign of Gallienus (262-268). There is a possibility that the administration of the limes was modified under Diocletian and from then on the praepositi were the commanders of the sectors of the limes.⁹⁵

Thus we may conclude that the normal view of the existence of the prae-positi limitis system during the third century in Tripolitania is clearly no longer tenable. Therefore no need to follow Goodchild in believing that the disbandment of the leg. III Augusta was followed by the division of the limes zone into a number of local areas each under a praepositus limitis, defended mainly by its limitanei.⁹⁶ The praepositi limitis listed in the Notitia Dignitatum as part of the late limes organisation was introduced into Tripolitania towards the end of the fourth century AD. As for the reference to these so-called soldier-farmers (limitanei) in the life of Alexander Severus that source is, as we mentioned before, an ^{na}achronistic and unreliable testimony.⁹⁷

The fact that the centenarium of Gasr Duib was constructed by a tribunus and not by a centenarius and that the tribunes of Bir ed-Dreder were tribal chieftains appointed by the Romans as principes and entrusted with juridical and administrative authority,⁹⁸ probably indicates that the tribunes were the commanders of the military units stationed in the limes zone.

The inscription of Gasr Duib is particularly interesting in that it refers to a praepositus limitis Tripolitanae as the overall commander of the limes zone responsible to the legatus of III Aug. (governor of Numidia). It also records the construction of a centenarium in the reign of Philip the Arab (244-246) on the Tripolitanian frontier.⁹⁹

It was specifically established at the command of the legate, Cominius Cassianus, to control an access route used by desert invaders "incursibus barba(ro)um". The centenarium is an institution which has been thoroughly studied by Leschi and others.¹⁰⁰ It was in origin a limes outpost, frequently encountered in Roman Africa, and was planned for a centuria of regular troops; its name derives from this term or more probably from centuria and not, as has been thought, from the rank of the "centenarius" officer who commanded it.¹⁰¹

As for Gasr Bularkan the archaeological evidence demonstrates that this fort was constructed in the second half of the IV century A.D. and was entrusted to indigenous cavalrymen instead of regular troops.¹⁰² It protected the eastern flank of the area of the agricultural settlement in the wadi el-Amud.¹⁰³

In regard to the case of Bir Dreder Goodchild dated the "Latino-Punic epitaphs" found in this site to the middle of the fourth century A.D. and saw in the names "Flavius" and "Iulius", recorded in several of these

stelae, a link with Rome and the limes.¹⁰⁴ He suggested that the tribuni mentioned in these stelae were Libyan foederati who worked as 'mobile detachments' guarding the southern most limit of the settled area. He concluded that they were tribal chieftains and not commanders of the strong holds.¹⁰⁵

But the archaeological evidence from Wadi el-Amud and the recent work by UNESCO Libyan valleys survey has shown that Wadi Dreder did not lie beyond the settled area as Goodchild thought and revealed the association between Shedewa gsur dwellers and Dreder tribuni.¹⁰⁶

However our interpretation of the Latino-punic inscriptions on the funerary stelae of Dreder tribuni shows that they were tribal chieftains appointed as

principes by the Romans and were responsible for administration and justice.¹⁰⁷ Therefore they were not as Goodchild suggested, but commanding

officers of the centenaria. As they were Libyans entrusted with

administrative and juridical authority they could easily deal with the tribesmen and solve the problems concerning tribal affairs and settlement.

As these tribunes were native 'barbarians' who entered the limes zone to seek work or for other reasons, they found it very easy to relate to the

pagan oaths of the local community and to have the oaths administered in their presence.¹⁰⁸

Courtois observes that one cannot see why these indigenous tribal chiefs, situated outside the territory of the

empire would have adopted not only honorary titles, but also "nomina"

from emperors which they did not recognize and who remained their enemies.¹⁰⁹

Di Vita argued that for the protection of a particular point in the limes it was necessary to have recourse to the local people who lived in the zone of the limes and this is the case with the indigenous tribunes of

Bir Dreder, who could well have served for the defence of that part of the

limes at upper Soffeggin.¹¹⁰ He concluded from the evidence of Bir Dreder and that of the Lepcitanian inscription of Flavius Neposianus and of Gsr

Bulkarkan that in the second half of the IV century a true and proper limes still existed in the middle sector of Tripolitania, and maintained that there was no military abandonment on the part of Diocletian as Courtois argued.¹¹¹ Courtois' fundamental objection is the silence of late official epigraphy to the east of Talalati-Gighthis line after the year 276. But as inscriptions which are valid for a historical reconstruction from the middle of the third century are rare,¹¹² and the archaeological evidence¹¹³ from the Gefara and the Gebel and the pre-desert serves to refute the supposed abandonment, we can maintain, like Di Vita, that the limes was in existence during the fourth century A.D. The late limes organisation is shown in The Notitia Dignitatum which is generally thought to date from about 408 AD. It has clear information about the division of the limes of the ancient province of Roman Tripolitania. In this list of the Roman army, the Dux Tripolitanae has two units under his command, styled 'Milites fortenses in castris Leptitanis' and the 'Milites munifices in castris Madensibus' and twelve 'praepositi limitis' responsables for twelve zones of the limes.¹¹⁴ This new organisation with praepositi limitis as sectoral commanders lasted until the end of the Roman rule in Tripolitania.¹¹⁵

In any case we may conclude that there is no evidence for cohorts or alae, numeri and regular troops neither in the Notitia Dignitatum, nor after the disbandment of the legion III Augusta (238 A.D.) (except on the coast), nor in the inscriptions found in the limes zone, and the various literary sources.¹¹⁶ The latter record that when the tribes joined Roman service they were put under Roman officers (praefecti, tribuni or decuriones), and it is these officers, some of them probably native, which are recorded in the inscriptions¹¹⁷ from the Gsur of the pre-desert of Tripolitania. Moreover, the dating evidence

(epigraphic) of most of these Gsur attests that they were built and inhabited, from the third century A.D. onwards, by indigenous Libyan people.¹¹⁸ Similarly the limitanei do not belong to the third century at all.¹¹⁹ In Africa therefore barbarian "gentiles" rather than Roman regular troops occupied and defended the farms of the 'limitanei'. 120

Therefore we have to follow Jones in concluding that the people settled in Goodchild's fortified farmhouses were Libyan tribesmen (gentiles) under the supervision of Roman officers (tribunes).¹²¹ Thus these fortified farms were entrusted to native tribesmen who were already established in the zone of the limes, and probably organized to serve a local militia under military supervision.¹²²

No doubt this led to the growth of a frontier society whose individuals carried the sword in one hand and the plough in the other; they were ready to defend their farms and to cultivate the land.¹²³ The farming scenes carved on the Mausolea, especially those at Ghirza demonstrate the economic importance of these farms.¹²⁴ The fortified farm houses whose traces are still to be found in the limes-zone of Tripolitania, were the back-bone of the innermost line of the limes.¹²⁵ Thus they were militarily as well as economically important and maintained the security of the rich coastal area.

In the Severan period the emperors were so much interested in the army, especially because they placed their hopes of survival on the strength of their soldiers.¹²⁶

By the end of the second century A.D., if not earlier, the soldiers of the Roman army were locally recruited in the area where their units were stationed.¹²⁷ The enlistment of Libyans into the legion III Augusta,

in the second century, is attested by an inscription found in the road-station site at Auru (Ain el-Auinia).¹²⁸ Another inscription from Bu Ngem records the name Iasuchan who was a Libyan centurion.¹²⁹ However, the extant inscribed lists of the legion III Augusta, found in the excavation at Lambaesis, attest few Tripolitanian soldiers; many of them were probably in the auxiliary forces.¹³⁰

In some of these lists, at this time, the patria of all the soldiers of III Augusta, was recorded as a town in Africa or 'Castris'.¹³¹ The latter indicates men who were born to soldiers during military service and considered as illegitimate.¹³² It seems from these lists that recruitment was carried on mainly from the principal African cities (such as Carthage and Cirta) and places where military bases had been established (Theveste, Amaedara, Lambaesis).

Before the time of Septimius Severus all the soldiers were prohibited from marriage, though this ban on marriage was widely ignored in practice.¹³³ But the existence of the legal bar to marriage meant that any child born to a soldier during military service was considered illegitimate and therefore did not deserve Roman citizenship by birth.¹³⁴ At the end of military service, a soldier's marriage became legal, but the legitimization of his children applied only to those born after discharge. The children born 'Castris' could get the citizenship by enlisting in the unit in which their father had served. This policy led to the profession of arms tending to become hereditary, which became widely practised when Septimius Severus removed the ban on legal marriage and permitted soldiers on service to live in wedlock with their wives in the town near to their camps.¹³⁵ He made the marriage of a soldier legally valid in the same way and under the same conditions as

the marriage of a civilian would have been.¹³⁶ It is probable that this permission extended to the auxiliary forces.¹³⁷

As a result of local recruitment and stability civic /military centres grew up in the limes zone. A civilian settlement had grown up around Gholaiiae and remained on through and into the fifth century.¹³⁸ There may have been a similar development at el Auinia,¹³⁹ el Gharria el Gharibia and Cydamae were the same.

By widening the confines of the fortifications, the Romans had brought under control both the inner oases, caravan routes and the essential passages which lead to the North of the region. Thus they increased the security of the area within the limes and made secure the caravan traffic routes from the inside which was already remarkable.

Our knowledge of the road system of Roman Tripolitania is derived from documentary and archaeological evidence. The documents are Tabula Peutingeriana, a pictorial road-map which goes back to the Roman Imperial period, and the Antonine Itinerary some of which goes back to the reign of Caracalla - the archaeological evidence consists of the milestone discovered in the region. The documentary evidence and the known milestones point to the existence of five roads.

1. The Coast road from Alexandri to Carthage through Oea. It is attested by the Tabula Peutingeriana and the Ant. It. and milestones¹⁴⁰ have been found at Psida, near Lepcis, Oea and Misurata.¹⁴¹ The road passed to the North of Ras el-Merghab before entering the city as its Decumanus Maximus; to the east it coincided with the modern road from the wadi Hasun to the Zaviat of Sidi Ben Ibrahim, where a Caracallan milestone was found.¹⁴²
2. The strategic road from Lepcis Magna into Tacapae "Iter per limitem Tripolitanum".¹⁴³

3. The east Gebel road: this road is attested by the Tabula Peutingeriana which shows three stations: Subututu, Cercar, Flacci Taberna. Coro identified these three stations with (Ras Bu Gombia) (37 km. south of Lepcis), (Gasr Garabulli, 45 km. east of Oea) and (El Fares, 24 km. south of Tripoli).¹⁴⁴ But in the light of recent discoveries Goodchild identified the first two stations with (Gasr el-Daun) and (Ain Scersciara at Tarhuna).¹⁴⁵ This road connects Lepcis and Oea and it is to the south of the coast road. It coincides with that part of the strategic road from Lepcis to Mesphe, continuing to Ain Scericiara and then turning North-westwards down the wadi Ramele and across the Gefara to Oea.¹⁴⁶
4. The Central road: the main road between the Tripolitanian coast, central Gebel, and the predesert area. It runs southwards from Oea to Mizda, passing through Caf Tobbi (at Garian), Bir Tescia and Bir Garra and perhaps continues to el-Gheria. Although it is not mentioned in any ancient source, some parts of it have been attested by milestones, especially the sector between Garian and Mizda. Its course through the area of Wadi Soffeggin between Mizda and el-Ghariat still uncertain.¹⁴⁷
5. The upper Soffeggin road: the starting point of this road is probably in the neighbourhood of Zintan (Thenteos), and it ran towards Mizda, following the upper reaches of the wadi Soffeggin. Although it is not recorded in any ancient source, milestones have been found in the sector between Gasr Uames and Mizda.¹⁴⁸ The latter is chosen by Goodchild to be the actual point of junction of the central road from Oea, and the Zintan-Mizda.¹⁴⁹

He also suggested, hesitantly, that the Mizda oasis and the junction with the Oea-Fezzan road formed the Caput viae "the upper-Soffeggin route" via Schemek, and perhaps beyond to the east.

Goodchild argued that the reason for which the Central and upper Soffeggin were not recorded in ancient sources, was probably their definition belongs to a later period or there were no inhabited centres for most of the period. The Romans maintained security for the productive parts south to the limes road from Lepcis to Zintan, by occupying the Gebel road and creating garrisoned posts such as Bir Tarsin.

In addition to these main roads, no doubt there were others which served as arteries of internal communication in ancient Tripolitania. Some of these roads ran along the banks and beds of the wadian and connecting the agricultural settlements in the interior of the region with the main centres on the coast. One of these roads ran along wadi Shetaf and linking Girza with the area of wadi Soffeggin and Beni Ualid and the other one linked Faschia with Bu Ngem. In general we can expect that future discoveries will throw more light on the system of the Roman roads in the region of Tripolitania.

The third line of the limes and the innermost zone of the new system of defence was formed by a strategic road which united Lepcis Magna with Tacapae running along, in Tripolitania, the northern

boundary of the Gebel. It is mentioned for the first time in the Antonine itinerary, some of which was drawn up during the time of

¹⁵³ Caracalla. This is the famous limes Tripolitanus which is recorded as well in an inscription of 263 A.D.: Fortissimi milites ex limite

¹⁵⁴ Tripolitano. Along this limes there ran the strategic road: "Iter quod limitem Tripolitanum per Tunem Tamalleni a Tacapis Leptimagna

¹⁵⁵ Ducit." The Antonine itinerary records twelve stations between Tacapae and Lepcis Magna. The Notitia Dignitatum ¹⁵⁶ lists twelve sectors of the Tripolitanian limes under praepositi, and only four of these posts, which occur both in the Ant. It. and the Not.Dig. and they are as follows:

<u>Ant. It.</u>	<u>Not. Dig.</u>
Talatai	Talalensis
Thenteos	Tentheitani
Vezereos	Bizeretani
Tillibari	Tillibarensis

The milestones discovered at different points along the road indicate the general direction of it. ¹⁵⁷ One was found near Tacape, ¹⁵⁸ the

¹⁵⁹ second at 10 km. from the same town, the third at the zone of Boukamash ¹⁶⁰ (near Psida), and many were found in the region of Lepcis Magna.

There is no doubt that the limes as proved by the outlines of this road, is traceable, at least as a project, to the time of the emperors Augustus, Commodus and Septimius Severus. The part of the strategic road between Tacapae and Capsa was established at the end of the Augustus' ¹⁶¹ reign by proconsul L. Asprenas. Under Commodus the forts of Vezereos and Tisavar were in fact established on this very road and the latter was slightly advanced as regards the limes. Both of them are at the western and Tunisian extremity of the future limes and the evidence (epigraphic) attests the presence of military detachments in these two

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forts at this time.

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Septimius Severus, between 198 and 201, will have completed the
ancient Auru and Thenadassa¹⁶⁴ and Si Aoun¹⁶⁵ is also his.

It seems that as far as Dhibat there are fortresses on the limes road whereas further east they become fewer. A. Di Vita, stated that the lack of fortresses along the part of the limes-road, to the east of Zintan, was due to the existence of the great forts of Bu Ngem and Gharbia el-Gharbia and the series of military posts strategically arranged to¹⁶⁶ defend the area of the great wadis.

The military road-stations of the limes in the part that runs across the territory of Tripolitania are mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary: starting from Lepcis Magna, the stations through which this road passed are, first, Mesphe which is identified with Medina Doga, which is situated at the intersection of several routes and was a fully Romanised centre of some importance.¹⁶⁷ The epigraphic evidence indicates its military character.¹⁶⁸ The fact that the limes ran further south east of Tarhuna to include part of its rich plateau, and the discovery of a milestone¹⁶⁹ of Caracalla; all these made Goodchild's hypothesis acceptable. The road followed the direction of the present road-track leading to Tarhuna and curves at Gasr el-Daun, touching Thenedassa (Ain Wif), west of Tarhuna, and at 15 km. west of Tazzoli village centre.¹⁷⁰ The inscriptions from this station confirm the presence, during the reign of Septimius Severus, of a detachment of the legio III Augusta.¹⁷¹ The following station (in Ant. It.) is Talalati or Tabulati (in Not. Dig.), as it is 26 Roman miles from Thenedassa, Merighi suggested that it could be identified with the ruins of These¹⁷² Gsur; Hagera, el-Aswad. But recent discoveries and the study of the

place confirmed that Tabalati (or Talalati) is Tlalet (Ras-el-Ain) in
 173
 Tunisian territory. The inscription found at the site indicates
 that there was a detachment at this station and it was reconstructed by
 174
 Gallienus in 263 A.D.

As for Vinaza it is placed at a site on a road from Tripoli through
 Mizda to Fezzan, and near to Asabaa, where there are some remains of
 Roman building. This station is situated on a cross-road of various
 caravan routes. This strategic position suggests that Vin^oza station
 175
 was established there, though this is not supported by evidence
 except the distance between this station and Auru. It seems that from
 Vinaza the strategic road followed the present caravan routes Asabaa-
 Misk el-Suadanah and Erumiah where there is a fortified farm and
 continued on towards south-west until Auru (Al-Auiniah). An inscription
 found at this site confirms the presence, during the time of Septimius
 Severus, of a vexillation of the legion III Augusta and a cohort,
 176
 probably of Syrian archers. The presence of military unit at Auru
 confirms previous suggestions that this site was one of the stations of
 177
limes Tripolitanus. The activity of the garrison recorded here may
 178
 be compared with that attested at the similar station of Ain Wif.

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The following station - Thenteos - was placed at the area of Zintan.
 Although the inscription found at Gasr Duib south of the limes-road in
 the Gebel Nefusa gives a clue to the zone in which Thenteos stood, it
 180
 does not indicate its exact site. The Centenarium of Gasr Duib is
 one of the defended spots on the military road which linked the Gebel
 escarpment with the frontier zones of the main Soffeggin and Zem Zem
 181
 basins.

As for the western part of the limes-road between Zintan and

Dhibat on the Libyan-Tunisian borders, it seems a simple enough matter, although the intermediary stations of Thamascaltin and Thramusdusim cannot be identified.¹⁸² This sector (Zintan-Dhibat) incorporated a desert area with limited pasture, while the second (Zintan-Lepcis) incorporated the basins of the great wadis of Soffeggin, Zem Zem and el-Bei el Kabir and their tributaries, which led themselves for extensive agricultural working. The basins of these wadis were protected by small forts like those at Gsur el-Gharia escerghia, Zerzi, El-Faschia, El-Banat, Schemek, Bir Dreder, Bularcan, Bir Tarsin, Uames, and Duib.¹⁸³

As for the part of the strategic road running through Tunisian territory, there are some details, thanks to the French scholars who have studied the region's defensive system.¹⁸⁴ Some advanced positions in this part of this road are recorded in ancient literary documents and identified by means of inscriptions found at sites such as Tisavar (Gsr Ghelan),¹⁸⁵ Bezereos (Sidi Mohamed ben Aissa),¹⁸⁶ Centenarium Tibubuci (Gsr Tarcine).¹⁸⁷ Road stations no doubt varied greatly in size and character, some being no more than prominent landmarks, others being defended by forts, and other in agricultural districts, growing into roadside villages¹⁸⁸ of considerable size such as Medina Doga, Gasr el-Daun and, Ain Wif, and as the road stations were unfortified and the road kept north of the agricultural land of Tarhuna plateau and Garian plateau, it can be considered as the main lateral communication at the rear of the system of defence in depth.¹⁸⁹

However, this road would never have formed, at least from the time of the Severans onwards, a true and proper limes, since the garrison posted along its route would not have been able, alone, to form a real barrier, and its importance would have therefore been that of a supply

line of unquestionable tactical importance; it connected military stations on the roads which linked advanced positions in the defensive line south to the strategic road. It is probable that this road marked the boundary between the proconsular province and the new imperial province of Numidia created by Septimius Severus to make de jure Caligula's de facto division of Africa between the proconsul and the legate and probably to prevent the entire forces in the region, which was divided from raising a dangerous revolt.

As for the western part of the frontier, the annexation of the kingdom of Numidia to the province of Africa, in the late first century B.C. extended its frontier south-westwards from the territory of Carthage. The surround and incorporation of the Aurès massif was accomplished in the early second century.

The legion III Augusta remained concentrated as a striking force near Lambaesis and from there it controlled the important route from the south through el-Kantara before the establishment of the southern post of Gemellae at the time of Hadrian. The fossatum Africae was created by this emperor. As some of its sections represent the limit of the town situated in the vicinity, it is considered as a legal rather than a purely military frontier. Although the African forts are not placed on the fossatum, it was designed to control and organize the traffic into and out of the Roman territory. But it is not good as a defensive position and especially if it is used against enemies attacking from higher up. But in Tripolitania there is neither fossatum nor any

works of an importance comparable to those in Numidia, with the exception of Thendassa Centre (Ain Wif) and the advanced positions of Gholaiiae, Gheria el Gharbia and Cydamae created by detachments of III Augusta under the Severi.¹⁹⁹ By contrast the edges of the main wadis which the sector of the limes, between Dhibat and Lepcis incorporated,²⁰⁰ are protected by a series of small forts (Gsur).

During the reign of Antoninus Pius (146 A.D.) a road was constructed through the Aurès by a vexillation of the VI Ferrata which seems to have reinforced the garrison of Numidia.²⁰¹ Under this emperor the two provinces of Mauretania (Tingitana, Caesariensis) were joined under one Praeses, Uttedius Honoratus.²⁰² Bénabou argued that the reason for this was just an attempt to eliminate sources of resistance in the interior²⁰³ of Mauretania rather than a specific revolt.

The Mauretanian steppes, east of the Atlas, where the Baquates dwelled, were secured by a political agreement between the successive chiefs of these tribes and the governors of Mauretania Tangitana.²⁰⁴ It seems that this agreement removed the necessity for any artificial barrier or heavily defensive line.²⁰⁵ Under Septimius Severus in the province of Mauretania Caesariensis a more southerly frontier line was garrisoned. This was probably to consolidate the limes and to face the pressure from the people of the south. The fort of ala Miliania was²⁰⁶ built at the western end of the line.

Picard stated that the most notable feature of the development of the frontiers under this emperor is the construction of permanent chains of forts in the Saharan Atlas. From positions such as Dimmidi recalcitrant tribes to the Moroccan Atlas could more easily be held.²⁰⁷ Fentress argued that in spite of certain similarities between these

antennae into the desert, there are some differences between; "in contrast to the Tripolitanian oasis forts, those in the Sahara Atlas seem relatively unimpressive, more useful as bases for patrols than as positions from which the area could be brought under control and included in the same system as the rest of the province."²⁰⁸ She concluded that defences in the Saharan Atlas, in the Severan period, were a system of customs and surveillance posts, rather than a studied defensive network. As they were far flung, they must have depended on mobile forces.²⁰⁹ Mann mentioned that the irrigation and settlement in the pre-desert zone of Numidia corresponds to that in Tripolitania. But while the former was protected by auxiliary detachments, backed by the legion III Augusta at Lambaesis and depended on artificial barriers, the pre-desert zone of Tripolitania had few regular troops, and was reinforced by frontier militia from the local population instead of artificial barriers.²¹⁰

In any case, as we have seen, the Romans had relied for the defence of the coastal area on their power to strike deep into the interior with punitive expeditions against the rebellious tribes in the south and eliminate the danger at its source, with the exception of the Roman road

-station at Thenedassa²¹¹ There is no sign of a definite frontier line or static defence during the first two centuries of the empire.²¹²

It seems that the Severan reorganization abandoned this policy and established the limes Tripolitanus.²¹³ Although there is no evidence of Roman troops stationed in the region before the time of Septimius Severus, the evidence (epigraphic) attests the presence of military garrisons at different parts of Tripolitania such as the three fortresses to the south (Bu Ngem, el Gharia, Cydamae)²¹⁴, the centenaria of (Gasr

Zerzi, Bir Tarsin),²¹⁵ and strategic road stations (Thendassa, Auru).²¹⁶ After the time of Septimius Severus, it seems that the region enjoyed utter peace for many decades. This probably led to limit^{ing}_L gradually, at the most the number and consistency of the regular garrisons in a sector which was occupied for centuries by those more or less Romanized 'gentiles-limitanei' well set up in defence in their isolated or grouped gsur, which seemed sufficient for defence.²¹⁷ But after the disbandment of the legion III Augusta (238 A.D.), decisive military obligations carried out in cases of emergency were assigned to a small force of regular soldiers on the frontier with purely static duties of defence.²¹⁸

It seems that Gadames was the only fort abandoned after 238 A.D. This is probably confirmed by the fact that it does not appear in the "Notitia Dignitatum" and the silence of official epigraphy recording the presence of a military garrison or any restoration work in it after this year, while we have evidence for restoration work, under Gordian III, at²¹⁹ el-Gharia el-Gharbia.

There is also evidence for restoration work, in the year 248, at Bu Njem. In this fort another inscription records the name of the emperor Ingenus (around 258 A.D.)²²⁰ Another inscription engraved on a wall of a town in the vicinity of Bu Njem, records the name of a Roman soldier (256-260 A.D.).²²¹

At the time of Valerianus (253-260 A.D.) when the legion III Augusta was reestablished, its name was restored at Bu Njem.²²²

The epitaph of Migin "mil(es) leg(ionis) III Augustae" from Auru (ain el Auinia) is dated in all probability between the end of the III century and the beginning of the fourth century A.D. and if such dating

is exact, it provides precious evidence for the presence of troops of the reestablished third Augusta on the Tripolitanian limes at a later time, probably after Diocletian.²²³ A letter of St. Augustine of 398 A.D shows that the approaches to the limes-zone were still under the control of frontier-guards.²²⁴

An inscription was set up in Lepcis Magna to commemorate the victory of the governor Flavius Ortygius over the Austurian tribes who attacked the region from time to time between 408 and 423 A.D. This probably indicates the existence of the old organization of the Limes Tripolitanus in the early years of the fifth century.²²⁵

CHAPTER VII

ORGANIZATION OF ROMAN TRIPOLITANIA

When Augustus surveyed the empire he had gained, he found a vast task awaiting him, with very few instruments ready to his hand. The Roman administration in the republican period was very economical in its organization. Rome and its provinces were run by an administrative system which was not good for the governors nor for the governed.¹ As there was not enough of a well-organized service for Augustus to take over, he realized that it was far too large and complex to be ruled by the Senate. He decided to use an active administrative system and to hold the main power in his hand in a way that did not interfere with the constitution of the republic or contemplate monarchy.² In 28-27 B.C., he created the new system of the Principate³ and declined all honours calculated to remind the Romans of the kingly power.⁴ He accepted all the old conventions, consuls, tribunes, magistrates and elections and showed his respect for the Senate; instead of ignoring it or insulting its members as Caesar had done, he went out of his way to consult it and placate them.⁵

On January 13, 27 B.C., at a session of the Senate, he renounced all his powers and placed them at the disposal of the Senate and the people.⁶ And when the senators begged him to resume them and not to leave the republic which he had saved, he agreed to their request and reached a general settlement with the Senate whereby he consented to assume proconsular authority over an enlarged province,⁷ which needed military defence and to relinquish control of those provinces which were not likely to need military defence. The peaceful province of Africa Vetus accordingly reverted to the Senate, which governed through

a proconsul with headquarters at Carthage.⁸ When in 25, Juba II, was transferred to Mauretania, Numidia was annexed to Africa Vetus. The enlarged Province, which was known as Africa, remained in senatorial control, but the addition of Numidia to the Proconsul's territory meant that the Senate was responsible for a troublesome frontier area; and Augustus gave it to Legion (legio III Augusta) to operate with enough auxiliary forces.⁹ This was different from the usual rule that proconsuls were not to be entrusted with armed forces.¹⁰ This action vested both administration and military command in the governor (Proconsul); the first was granted by the Senate, the second by the emperor.¹¹ Regarding this point Boissier said that as Roman Africa's frontiers were troublesome, this province was really in need of an army to protect it from the Libyan tribes' attacks; Augustus could either have kept it for himself or divided it into two provinces, one for himself and the other for the Senate.¹² Cagnat threw more light on Augustus' action and said that as Africa used to provide Rome with two thirds of the amount of grain which she needed, Augustus did not want to be selfish and keep it for himself.¹³ Julien mentioned that Africa, a long time before the Romans' arrival, comprised the most developed countries which were skilled in Phoenician methods of agriculture and commerce and that it had many active towns which enjoyed stability and peace, after the Musulamii had been subdued and deprived of their weapons in the late first century B.C. Thus Augustus was able to entrust a pacified province to a senatorial proconsul, especially as the emperor's legati were able to counter-balance the Proconsul's influence year after year.¹⁴

Albertini said that the imperial system was established on a theoretical basis of a division of rule between the emperor, and the people represented in the Senate as equal partners. Therefore Augustus

divided the Roman world into two types of provinces: (1) the Senatorial (public) provinces were governed by proconsuls appointed by the Senate, whose incomes were to be lodged in the state (public) treasury (aerarium). (2) the imperial provinces, were entrusted to legati Augusti pro praetore appointed by the emperor and their incomes were directed into the emperor.¹⁵

In any case this subject has been elaborated by historians who concluded that Augustus undertook the administration of a large province, comprising Spain, Gaul and Syria, for a period of ten years, possibly with proconsular authority. He governed these provinces through legati appointed by, and responsible to, himself. The other provinces were governed by pro-magistrates responsible to the Senate. Down to 23 Augustus was also Consul. In 23, while retaining his provincia, he abandoned the Consulate and accepted imperium maius, which gave him superior authority to promagistrates, and enabled him to intervene outside his provincia when necessary. In normal circumstances, however, control of the provinces was divided between the emperor and the Senate.¹⁶ Thus there was a fair consensus of opinion about the division of the provinces itself, and the nature of the administration pattern which it produced.

Professor Millar said that both the emperor and the Senate, predominantly of course the former, made regulations (sometimes jointly) affecting all the provinces. The emperor could deal directly with provinces of both types or with communities within them. Legati received mandata from the beginning, proconsuls, probably from the first half of the second century.¹⁷ He added that if we look at the actual

evidence for how the empire worked, what we see is not an arrangement of compartments, of administrative hierarchies, but an array of institutions, communities and persons, the relation between which depended on political and diplomatic choices which could be made by any of the parties.¹⁸

In any case the anomaly whereby the legion of Africa, alone of all the armies of the empire, came under the command of a proconsul who was not directly appointed by the emperor, was obviated by the creation of a new post of legatus of the third legion.¹⁹

Although North Africa except Mauretania, which was ruled by Juba II, was under direct Roman control, the actual Roman authority did not go beyond the region of Leptis Magna, because the territory which was situated between this town and the Gulf of grand Syrtis had no limes for its defence and there were no important inhabited centres; moreover there was no urgent reason to occupy this part to secure the region.²⁰

The African province was divided into four dioceses, probably divided between the legati and ^{the a} questor :

- 1 Diocesis Carthaginensis: its capital was Carthage, that is the new colony which was founded by Augustus in the year 29 B.C.²¹ and the existence of this district is certain, because Lucius Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus, was a legatus of Carthage at the time of Hadrian.²²
- 2 Diocesis Hipponiensis: its capital was Hippo Dirrhytus, and as its legatus is attested,²³ there is no doubt about its existence,²⁴ which is confirmed by the time of Hadrian.²⁵
- 3 Diocesis Hadrumetum: its capital was Hadrumetum. There are inscriptions which mention that 'M. Clodius Q.f. Quir' was proconsul Aug. Diocesis Hadrumetinae et Thevestae.²⁶ In some of these inscriptions the phrase "Leg. Procos. in Africa"²⁷ recurred and that probably

suggested that they belonged to this diocese.

4 Diocese of Tripolitania; ^{this was probably} the fourth Diocese, Tripolitania. The little that is known of the history and institutions of the region before the time of Augustus is all connected with Lepcis, possibly the oldest of the Tripolitanian Emporia and certainly the most important,²⁸ if not indeed the effective administrative centre. It seems that Tripolitania did not become a province before the end of the third century, probably under Diocletian. Before this, it was administered as a part of the territories adjoining to the west, at first as an integral part of the original province of Africa, and later, after Caius Caligula's reorganization,²⁹ divided into two zones, interior under the legate of Legio III Augusta,³⁰ while the coastal zone remained under the proconsul Africae. The latter was assisted by three subordinate legati,³¹ operating each within a defined diocese, probably one of them being for Tripolitania.³² After Caligula separated Numidia from Africa the latter comprised Emporia (Tripolitania), Africa Vetus (Tunisia) and a part of Numidia (Algeria).³³ Later after Claudius' reorganization (42 A.D.) Africa Proconsularis comprised Byzacena and Tripolitania, and was governed by a proconsul who resided at Carthage.³⁴

Although Tripolitania is not mentioned as a province in any inscribed document,³⁵ there is a hint in the extant inscriptions which were engraved on Marcus Aurelius' arch in Oea (Tripoli), in the line "Sex. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus Procos., cum Uttedio Marcello leg. suo dedicavit".³⁶ Some believe that the phrase "cum legato suo" designated the authority of one of the legati in Tripolitania as a Province; if not, the meaning is different and the governor of Africa had one legatus instead of three. Therefore they concluded that Uttedius Marcellus was one of the legati of Africa con-

cerned with the diocese of Tripolitania.³⁷ Mommsen mentioned that Numidia comprised the interior of Tripolitania (Fezzan) and in addition to that the Gulf of Syrtis as far as the Phoenician borders. He confirmed his view by the Bu Ngem inscriptions (in the year 201 A.D.)³⁸ which recorded Q. Anicius Faustus, the famous governor of Numidia. At the end he concluded that there was not a Tripolitanian Province.

It should be noted that the coastal part of Tripolitania was separated from the interior, because of its exceptional situation.³⁹ As Bu Ngem is a part of the interior and was an important advanced military position, it was logical that the authority of the governor of Numidia extended to all military advanced positions and the territories which needed defence. Thus the authority of the governor of Numidia extended to the south of the regions which were under his control and to unlimited boundaries.

It is probable that the administrative distinction⁴⁰ which was explicit after the proconsul had been deprived of military command goes back to the first years of the first century A.D. Also the political distinction which Tripolitania received after it had been made a province by Diocletian⁴¹ had found its precedent in the creation of the dioceses.⁴²

Although the name of Tripoli or the 'regio Tripolitana' appeared in the third century A.D.⁴³ and Leptis Magna was the birthplace of the first African emperor of Rome, Septimius Severus, we cannot follow others⁴⁴ in thinking that he severed this region from the province of Africa and granted it a separate administration, because it is not supported by the evidence and the biographer of Septimius Severus does not say it. It continued to be an official part of the senatorial province of Africa during the first three centuries A.D.

The name of Tripolitania as a region or province appears in the late literary authorities,⁴⁵ it meant the coastal territory between the two Syrtes. It did not include the southern region (Fezzan), probably because of its lesser economic value, and the difficulty of defending vast arid and desert territories - the name of Tripolitania may be created to be suitable for administrative or political necessities. It appeared in inscriptions from Theveste one of which was dedicated by the Oeenses to M. Aemilius Clodianus:

'M(arco Aemilio Clodiano e(gregio) v(iro), pro(uratori) Aug(ustorum) n(ostrorum) (Pat/rimonii reg(ionis) Leptiminensis [item privatae] reg(ionis) Tripolitanae ob singularem eius innocentiam Oeenses publice.'⁴⁶

The other by the Sabrathenses.⁴⁷

These honorary inscriptions of M. Aemilius Clodianus inform us that he held two posts as Procurator; first he was procurator of the Ratio Privata in the Tripolitanian region, probably a sexagenary appointment if it is compared to the similar post in Caesarean Mauretania.⁴⁸

Saumagne studied the significance of Clodianus' offices. They must, according to these inscriptions, have concerned the management of the ratio privata in the region of Tripolitania, and of the patrimonium in the region of Leptiminensis (Leptis Minus); he concluded that there are three possible solutions:

First the Tripolitanian region, birthplace of Septimius Severus, included only those goods liable to depend on the Ratio Privata, whilst the Leptiminus region was composed exclusively of properties belonging ^{the} to Patrimonium.⁴⁹

Secondly, in each region there are two procurators, one for the ratio

Privata, the other for the Patrimonium.

Thirdly, the Tripolitanian region in principle contained only elements of the ratio privata, whilst the double procuratorship, ratio privata and Patrimonium, was under the management of the domain Lepti Minus.

Having thus reviewed the three possible systems, Saumagne calculates that the differentiated posts would not easily fit these regions and would only occur at tractus level. This opinion is confirmed by a Timgad inscription⁵⁰ referring to a pro[urator] C[entenarius] Tractus Karth[aginiensis], who had been director of one of the two branches in question. But he also allows that the exceptional size of the Regio Leptimiensis and the importance of its domain might have justified the co-existence of specialised procuratorships.⁵¹

Pflaum said that it is significant that the only districts where we see procurators of the ratio privata in Africa are those where previously their existence was not confirmed, and where the domains certainly did not become imperial property before the Severans. Therefore he estimates that there was no patrimonium agent in Caesarian Mauritania nor in Tripolitania. He also did not agree with Saumagne's hypothesis of two procurators at Leptis Minus [because it was based on the size and the importance of the district and that was not convincing]. He preferred to see the mention of the patrimonium as the editor's efforts to underline the difference of system in the two circonscriptiones successively managed by Clodianus.⁵² Thus he accepted the first of Saumagne's theories.⁵³

J. Schmidt, publisher of the Theveste inscriptions proposed considering the dedications of the Oeenses and Sabrathenses at Theveste

as proof that the town was the administrative centre of the regio Tripolitana, which thus became a subdivision of the tractus thevestinus.⁵⁴ S. Gsell⁵⁵ returned to this question and suggested that Clodianus came from Theveste, a solution also adopted by Poinssot⁵⁶ and also accepted by Pflaum⁵⁷ who saw Clodianus as yet another African nobleman for whom the domainial posts of Africa were reserved.

There are many inscriptions in this connection; we mention from them "Procurator patrimonii per regionem Leptitanam"⁵⁸ and Tivoli inscriptions which belong to a later time and were dedicated to "T. Clodius Pupienus Pulcher Maximus"⁵⁹ the son of the Emperor Pupienus "Curatori R(eipublicae) Leptim(magnensium) et Tripolitanor(um)".⁶⁰ Also the inscriptions which were found at Ras el-Ain (south of Tunisia) mentioned "milites ex limite Tripolitano". There are a number of inscriptions in which the name of Tripolitania is mentioned, such as those which were dedicated to T. Clodius Pupienus Pulcher Maximus as "curator Reipublicae Catinensium, Leptimagnensium et Tripolitanorum, Beneventanorum"⁶¹ and those which were found at Henshir Ghisibat which refer to "procurator patrimonii per regionem Leptitanem". It seems that these inscriptions point to the importance of Leptis Magna and that it probably was the capital of the region of Tripolitania.⁶² These names are repeated in authorities of the third and fourth century A.D.; the Itinerarium Antonini and the Historia Augusta (Vita Severi), Eutropius, Ammianus, Orosius and the latest inscriptions⁶³ dedicated to the praesides of provinces.

Orosius mentioned that the borders of the province of Tripolitania extended from Philaenorum Arae east to Locus salinarum (Shatt-El Jarid) west and Garamantian territory south. He added that Leptis

Magna was the most important city in the region.⁶⁴ But Marquardt,⁶⁵ argued that Tacape was the capital of the Province (Tripolitania). Romanelli contradicted this view and said that it is just an assumption which is based on doubtful data, and he believes that Leptis Magna was the capital because of its position and importance in comparison with other cities in the province.⁶⁶

In any case it seems that Leptis Magna was the capital of the province of Tripolitania and that is explicit from the number of monuments set up at Leptis to, or by, governors (Praesides and Vicarii).⁶⁷ The career of Leptis as a Roman city began under Augustus who (probably about 12 B.C.) was granted to all three cities of Tripolitania (Leptis Magna, Oea, Sabratha) the right of "free cities", or libertas, of which they had been deprived by Caesar.⁶⁸ Rome tried to model the life and municipal activities of single cities upon itself, so that municipia instead of tribal units were created in conquered territories. In reality, Tripolitania scarcely felt the benefits of the new policies throughout the whole of the first century. In fact the development of municipal life was limited to pre-existing urban settlements, as the country with its few resources did not lend itself to the creation of new settlements of any size. The metropolis of Tripolitania was Leptis Magna even before the region became a province. From the municipal life of this city we can divine those of the other two cities (Oea and Sabratha). After the annexation in the first century this city which had already gained a privileged position over the other cities and the whole emporia, in so far as it was a Civitas Foederata.⁶⁹ The fact that Leptis was governed by magistrates still known by the Punic term of sufetes⁷⁰ is a clear indication that it had passed from being a civitas foederata to civitas libera. Such special autonomy is also demonstrated

by the right that it had to coin money.⁷¹

The three cities celebrated their promotion by the introduction of imperial portraits on their coinages, which continued to be used until the reign of Tiberius.⁷² It seems that they were administratively separate. For Oea in 70 A.D. had conflicts with Leptis on questions of territory and economic rivalry, and the former invited the Garamantes to help her, while the latter made an urgent appeal to the Roman troops. In the end, the Roman legate Valerius Festus interfered and defeated the Garamantes.⁷³ But Oea was not punished even though she had joined these tribes.⁷⁴ This suggested that Oea was a civitas libera because if she was under direct control of the proconsul and the Roman troops were stationed in this town, it was difficult for her to ask the Garamantes for help instead of the Romans.⁷⁵ In any case even cities which were not liberae did not usually have Roman garrisons and after this punitive expedition the legal conditions of Tripolitanian cities did not change immediately, at least if we are to put our faith in an inscription, found at Tripoli, which has been preserved in a "Histoire chronologique du Royaume de Tripoly de Barbarie" by an anonymous author. This epigraph, as well as recording the cohorts of Valerius Festus, also mentions the "Civitas Oea" as tied by a "foedus" with the nearby city of Leptis (Civitas Oea cum urbe Leptis foeder(ata)).⁷⁶ And equally, it seems quite likely that towards the end of the Roman Republic and throughout the first century of the empire the city (Oea) enjoyed full administrative independence and local legislation and jurisdiction. The coinage of the early first century A.D. bears the names of two native officials, who are perhaps to be interpreted as sufetes, but with this exception, there is no evidence for the city's civic institutions before the second century. Libertas did not mean that the three cities

ceased to be subjected to Roman rule, nor did it relieve them of the burden of annual stipendium (tribute), it did, however, guarantee them a certain status within the province, and probably exempted them from the direct jurisdiction of the proconsul.⁷⁷

The three cities celebrated their promotion by the introduction of imperial portraits on their coinages, which continued to be issued until the reign of Tiberius.⁷⁸

As a 'free city', Lepcis continued to govern itself in the traditional way, but its citizens came gradually to adopt Roman ways, to use Latin as well as Punic, and to construct public buildings in the Roman style. During the last twenty years of Augustus' reign a street plan was laid out in the familiar rectangular pattern of Roman town planning, with a paved forum flanked by temples and a basilica, used for commercial and judicial business - probably also a Curia (or Council-house) though the one which still exists dates only from the second century A.D. To the same period of the city's development belong two market-places and the theatre, all of which, as we are informed by inscriptions, were paid for by leading citizens.⁷⁹ The earlier market and theatre were both paid for by the same man, Annobal Rufus, who set up bilingual inscriptions to commemorate that fact. These reveal the combination of Punic and Roman ways which is so characteristic of Roman Africa at this period. Not only does Annobal Rufus record his benefactions both in Punic and in Latin, but his name combines both elements, and the offices he had held in his city include both that of Sufes (the Punic magistracy) and that of flamen or priest of the imperial cult, the officially sponsored worship of Rome and Augustus. Just ninety years after the completion of the theatre, in the time of Domitian, it was improved by the addition of seats in the orchestra for distinguished spectators. The man who paid

for this work bears a good Latin name - Tiberius Claudius Sestius - inherited from his father who was probably made a Roman citizen by the Emperor Claudius; otherwise he is as thoroughly Punic as Annobal Rufus.⁸⁰ Like him he sets up his inscriptions in both languages, and had been both sufes and flamen; and both men had honorific titles like: 'ornator patriae' and 'ornator concordiae' which look like Latin versions of Punic expressions. Titles such as these continue to be found in the second century, even when the inscriptions were in Latin only. It is certainly relevant to mention here that Tiberius Claudius Sestius as a sufete was honoured with the right to bear the latus clavus by the ordo et populus of the town. From now on the typically indigenous names of the sufetes we saw at the beginning of the century disappear in favour of a perfectly Roman name; at the same time, the senatus populus Lepcitanorum has given way to the ordo et populus.⁸¹ However, it may be noted that the last example of a Punic name among the leading citizens is dated to 12 A.D.;⁸² thereafter all the magistrates, like Sestius, are Roman citizens.⁸³ The old title sufes continued to be used for the chief magistrates until Lepcis became a colony.⁸⁴ One of the sufetes in that year was named L. Septimius Severus (the Emperor's grandfather), and the Septimii were a leading family of the place, probably descended from Punic origins.⁸⁵ He played the principle role in transforming Lepcis into a colony. As sufete, his task was to oversee the reform of the municipal constitution, and he carried the title of Praefectus.⁸⁶ As a praefectus elected by his fellow citizens, he must have taken over from the Emperor, who doubtless had been made honorary duumvir by the Lepcitanians.⁸⁷ He was also the first to receive the post of duumvir in the new colony.⁸⁸

By this time, of course, Lepcis was a thoroughly Romanized city. Even apart from the grandiose programme of construction which its first duumvir's grandson was to inaugurate nearly a century later, it was already full of splendid public buildings and monuments bearing Latin inscriptions.⁸⁹ How far genuine Romanization extended in the region of Tripolitania is uncertain.⁹⁰

Although a native of Lepcis Magna, Septimius Severus, a grandfather of the Emperor, was praised by his friend Statius⁹¹ as completely Italian. The Emperor himself did not lose his African accent, and also his sister who came to Rome for a visit to her brother, was sent back to Lepcis because she did not speak Latin.⁹² Punic was certainly a vernacular language, but rarely written; it is perhaps significant that such inscriptions in the Punic language as are still found in the fourth and fifth centuries are written in the Latin alphabet.⁹³

Lepcis did not long remain a civitas libera, at least if one judges by the period of its coinage, struck, it seems, between the last years of the republic and the reign of Tiberius.⁹⁴ The development of the city was very rapid and was certainly in rapport with its importance as administrative and political capital in the Tripolitanian region.⁹⁵ Anyway the rising tide of civic confidence at Leptis Magna can be traced in the erection of large buildings such as the theatre, the market, and the chalcidicum and the rapid expansion of the early imperial city. It was thus at the highest level, that of the grand bourgeoisie, that the attractions of Romanization operated in Leptis Magna in 1st century A.D., and that the moral and spiritual conquest increased its hold. And in Leptis, as in the other African cities, this accord between the Italian and rich native minorities is perhaps shown in their common worship of

the goddess Concordia.⁹⁶ A situation as favourable as this, based on agricultural and commercial prosperity, had to receive juridical blessing: The civitas of Leptis now be promoted in the hierarchy of municipal status.⁹⁷

Romanelli said that after the active impulsion which was given to the creation of municipalities by Caesar and Augustus, there was a deliberate slowing-up in this connection in Africa Proconsularis during the first century A.D. until Vespasian's accession, and there is no evidence which confirms the creation of municipalities or colonies in this province during this period.⁹⁸ Tiberius was engaged in a long war with Tacfarinas (the Numidian leader 17-24 A.D.) also he was engaged in assuring the peace and extending Roman control towards the south and surveying the south of Tunisia.⁹⁹

Although Caligula's reign was short, important measures of administrative and political organization were carried out. He deprived the proconsul of Carthage of the military command and entrusted it to a legate, and ordered the assassination of Ptolemy King of Mauretania and annexed his kingdom to the Roman Empire.¹⁰⁰ Claudius showed a desire to organize Roman Africa and encouraged the creation of municipalities in Africa Proconsularis; he also divided Mauretania into two provinces, Tingitana and Caesariana, where he created several colonies and municipalities: the colonies of Tingi, Lixus, Caesarea; the municipalities of Volubilis and Rusuccuru, and the Latin municipality of Tipasa.¹⁰¹

Although there is no indication that Nero created a municipality or colony in Roman Africa, some have supposed that the transformation of Leptis Magna to a municipality was carried out by Nero.¹⁰² But others

have attributed this transformation to Vespasian,¹⁰³ especially as not much was done by Nero.¹⁰⁴ The troubles which followed Nero's death did not give much chance for the creation of municipalities or colonies. Tacitus¹⁰⁵ mentioned that there were no va iura and new circumstances within which the opportunism found its way and new taxes which entailed new status of municipalities,¹⁰⁶ of which there is no indication.

With the Flavian regime ^{late} (first century A.D.) and the return of political stability (in spite of the war against the Garamantes¹⁰⁷ at the time of Vespasian and against the Nasamones¹⁰⁸ at the reign of Domitian), the Roman occupation of North Africa knew new reorganization such as the municipalities of Sufetula and Bulla Regia, which were probably created by the Flavians.¹⁰⁹ Thus the Flavians inaugurated a policy which was pursued by Trajan.¹¹⁰

The outlines of the Trajanic administrative arrangements are fairly apparent. In the undeveloped regions of the province the settlement of veteran colonies was basic, while some native tribes were permitted to develop themselves in reservations, and native towns which already had a considerable degree of Romanization and prosperity were given colonial status, such as Hadrumetum and Leptis Magna.¹¹¹ It seems that Leptis Magna, as an ancient Phoenician city, was the principal port of the coastal area and the centre of oil production and export and had long prospered because of the natural wealth of the surrounding regions and caravan trade. following this, its prosperous Phoenician aristocracy which cooperated with the Romans for the benefit of their city, must have all been factors in favour of her elevation to the rank of colony.¹¹² But doubtless its degree of Romanisation was smaller, since the Punic element was to stay there for a long time.¹¹³

In 109-110 Lepcis was promoted to the rank of colony by Trajan, with the official title Colonia Ulpia Trajana fidelis Lepcis magna and also universal Roman citizenship.¹¹⁴ This elevation is confirmed by two inscriptions which were found at Lepcis Magna; the first¹¹⁵ "Coloniae Ulpiae Traianae Aug(ustae) Fidelis Septimiae Saloninae Lepcis Magnae"; the second¹¹⁶ is a dedication engraved on an arch raised to Trajan in 109-110 by [ordo et populus] Coloniae Ulpiae Traianae Fidelis Lepcis [Magnae]. On some amphora stamps found in the port of Ostia, there is equally a mention of a Colonia of Lepcis, which cannot be anything but Lepcis Magna.¹¹⁷

As the Lepcitanians had become citizens with full rights,¹¹⁸ they devoted themselves, through the second century A.D., to constructing a town worthy of them: marble appears in Lepcitanian architecture for the Thermae of Hadrian.

Lepcis Magna's status before being made a colony poses very delicate problems: was it directly elevated to the status of colony by Trajan, or was it first passed through the normal intermediate stage of municipia possessing "Latin rights". In fact two inscriptions mention the existence of a municipium before Trajan. They date respectively from 77-78 A.D. "[Pat]ronum municipi"¹¹⁹ and 83 "Patronus municipii".¹²⁰ Thus one would expect as from 78 or later Lepcis would be governed by duumviri or quattuorvir iure dicundo. But inscriptions prove that there were sufetes in Lepcis Magna in the years 92, 93-94 and under Domitian between 80 and 96.¹²¹

In another inscription L. Septimius Severus, grandfather of the emperor, described as a sufete and praefectus represented the emperor as an honorary duumvir of the colony.¹²² An extended Punic inscription

confirms the existence of sufetal government at the time of Hadrian.¹²³

The discrepancies which seem to exist between the indications provided by the inscriptions led certain scholars to believe that there was a double community at Lepcis Magna:¹²⁴ a native civitas governed by its sufetes, side by side with ^{a municipium with} its duumviri and quattuorviri,¹²⁵ But others¹²⁶ have argued against the existence of ^a double community, and L. Teutsch¹²⁷ has argued that such organizations did not exist in Roman Africa. The suggestion of Aurigemma that the term municipium was used without precise juridical significance and the word would in this case be equivalent to civitas,¹²⁸ is not accepted by other scholars.¹²⁹ J. Guey suggested the existence of a particular municipal status of which this is the only one of its kind in Roman Africa: the "Sufetal Municipium".¹³⁰

In any case it seems that the most likely - in fact it is indisputable - that there was a municipium in Lepcis Magna and that it would be a Latin one,¹³¹ because it was only at the granting of colonial status by Trajan that Lepcitanians as a whole achieved Roman citizenship.¹³² This municipium was ruled by sufetes and it was able to stay faithful to its customs and laws.¹³³ Therefore Lepcis Magna was a municipium first, before receiving the honour of colonial status from Trajan.¹³⁴

According to Sallust, the laws and civilization of Lepcis at the time of the Jugurthine were still Punic, though the prevalent language was Numidian owing to intermarriage between the Punic colonists and the natives.¹³⁵ Therefore she must have had, besides the sufetes, a municipal council, assembly and minor offices of which a neo-Punic text¹³⁶ mentions two annual Muhazim (collectors), whose title was probably Latinized as aediles¹³⁷ and they were concerned with financial affairs and providing equipment for the market.¹³⁸ As Carthage depended econ-

omically very much on the emporia,¹³⁹ she used to send officials to this region to control the levy and customs and to observe the activity of foreign traders.¹⁴⁰

During the first century a series of honorary titles were from time to time conferred on prominent citizens: amator patriae, ornator patriae, ornatrix, amator civium and amator concordiae.¹⁴¹ Priesthoods recorded in the inscriptions in the first century are those of El-Megimelim and baal Shelem har-reshet and others.¹⁴² When Lepcis was transferred from ^{being a} civitas libera to a municipium she was able to keep her local constitution,¹⁴³ but after it became a colony, a problem arose. Is there really evidence that the post of sufete continued after this elevation or not?

To find a solution to this delicate problem is not an easy matter, but there is an extant neo-Punic inscription (IRT 599 Neo-Punic 12), which was found around the seats in the Hadrianic baths at Lepcis Magna. Romanelli suggested that this inscription probably dates to Hadrian's time or later.¹⁴⁴ J. Reynolds and Ward-Perkins mentioned that the benches were probably reused in the Hadrianic baths.¹⁴⁵ We feel that we can accept the first hypothesis because

- (a) these seats were made in the same year, of the sufetes Abdmelqart Tabahpi and Aris Elrab, though they were made in groups.
- (b) These seats were made for use in a public place, specifically baths, and their sizes and length will not fit for any other bath in Lepcis Magna as far as we know.
- (c) The numbers and sizes of the benches fit the big room in the bath.
- (d) That these seats were recorded in one inscription indicates that

they were made to be used in one public place and that was the Hadrianic baths.

It is probably relevant here to mention that a little way beyond the baths to the south is a row of cisterns, near which was found an inscription¹⁴⁶ recording that in the year 119-120 a certain Quintus Servilius Candidus 'found water, raised it and brought it to the colony (presumably by aqueduct) at his expense'. As we know that the Hadrianic baths were dedicated in 126-127, about the same period as the water project, that has led us to think that the prominent benefactor was the same Candidus, one of the Muhazim, who is recorded in both inscriptions.¹⁴⁷ Therefore this inscription appears to date to Hadrian's time or later. And as we see from it that the title and function are in evidence at this time. The sufetes were at the top of the local government of the city, and the Muhazim were concerned with financial affairs, and handled certain fines.¹⁴⁸ All of these officials were natives of Lepcis Magna and no doubt they were from the bourgeoisie of the town. Thus we can conclude that Lepcis Magna had kept her ancient municipal constitutions under Roman rule and they were left intact and permitted to function throughout with as little Roman interference as possible even after the city became a colony, and so no doubt at Oea and Sabratha, though this is not supported by evidence. But we do not know when this sufetal system stopped. There is an inscription¹⁴⁹ from Lepcis Magna which informs us that the Hadrianic baths were restored and modified by a duumvir quinquennalis, who obtained the emperor's permission to divert funds allotted for gladiatorial spectacles. There is no mention of the sufetes here and they are not recorded in the inscriptions after these dates.¹⁵⁰

In any case the municipal institutions of Lepcis Magna as a colonia¹⁵¹ were a miniature copy of those of republican Rome; two chief magistrates (duoviri)¹⁵² elected annually by the citizen assembly; minor magistrates (aediles¹⁵³ in charge of routine administration, and quaestors in charge of financial affairs), assisted by a council of wealthy citizens (ordo decurionum)¹⁵⁴ selected for life like the Roman Senate.

In practice, membership of the ordo tended to become hereditary, since the number of the wealthy families was naturally restricted. Owing to the paucity of the inscriptions we know only a little about Roman taxation and demands for service in the region. In Lepcis Magna one of these inscriptions recorded the existence of office praefectus vehiculorum, a superintendent of transport, and the procurator vicesimae hereditatis who occupied the position of an imperial collector of ^{the} 5% tax on inheritances.¹⁵⁵ The first position of a magistrate was created at the time of Nerva or later to administrate the public roads, specially those which linked Lepcis. The costs were heavy and usually fell on the local communities.¹⁵⁶ Nerva boasted that he relieved Italy from the expenses of the vehiculatio, as the post was called and we do not know if this relief included Lepcis or not.¹⁵⁷

Also at the time of Septimius Severus the citizens were relieved of the burden of the public post and transport (Cursus), and it was entrusted to the state treasury (fiscus).¹⁵⁸ The second office (procurator vicesimae) indicated the existence of an office for the 5% tax on inheritances. On the one hand the existence of this office (Vicesima hereditatis) under the auspices of the procurator may be good evidence for those who believe that Lepcis was a capital of the region before the reform of Diocletian, and on the other confirms the abundance of

private properties in its territories.

There is another office, ^{that of} _L the Quattuor Publicae Africae, and the importance of this office was due to the position of Lepcis Magna as an important port for import and export.¹⁶⁰ Although this office was important and it was run by a senior official procurator, there were not many official (familia) in it.¹⁶¹ This office is responsible for the indirect taxes which were four in number: customs dues on goods, imported by sea or land into the province; a five percent death-duty, levied on Roman citizens only; a five percent tax on the manumission of slaves; and a four percent tax on the sale of slaves. During the first century these taxes were probably farmed out to companies or individuals; but Augustus did much to remedy the abuses of this system, which had caused great scandal in republican times; and from the time of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79) the province of Africa possessed a provincial assembly or concilium which could submit grievances to the emperor over the proconsul's head.¹⁶² The existence of a concilium in Tripolitania in the fourth century, is confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus.¹⁶³ Under Trajan (98-117) the collection of indirect taxes was taken over by imperial officials. At Lepcis the imperial revenue-office was divided into two departments, of which one, under a vilicus maritimus, was concerned with dues on sea-borne goods and death duties, the other, under a vilicus terrestris with dues on land borne goods and the taxes on the sale and manumission of slaves. The titles of the vilici suggest that both were customs officers. Their presence at Lepcis indicates that this city was the most convenient station for collection of the frontier levy on products and goods entering the region from the desert in this area. By the time of Severus, conductores, whose staff were supervised by imperial officials, seem to have given place to imperial procurators

in the administration of the IIII P.A.¹⁶⁴ There are also other officials known from the inscriptions in Tripolitania and those are: the Curator republicae,¹⁶⁵ procurator patrimonii¹⁶⁶ and the procurator rationis privatae.¹⁶⁷ They were imperial officials in Tripolitania during the time of Septimius Severus or later. Their appearance indicates the independence of the local administration and the preparation of the region to be a province.¹⁶⁸ The coin evidence is very limited in this connection, but the right to strike coins, which the three cities enjoyed until the reign of Tiberius, entailed the existence of officials and labourers to run the coin's manufacture such as praefectus 'mint-master' which was recorded on Lepcis Magna's coinage after she became ^aCivitas_L foederata of Rome.¹⁶⁹

Owing to the grant of the citizenship to Lepcis in the year 109/110 and then in 212 to all the inhabitants of the Empire, the new Romans of Tripolitania became a part of the tribes Quirina and Papiria.¹⁷⁰ Both of these two tribes were dominant at Lepcis. The first one during the time of Claudius, Nero and the Flavians, while the second at the time of Trajan.¹⁷¹ Those who were granted Roman citizenship were entitled to Latin honorific titles in addition to the Punic ones and this is illustrated by an inscription in which the dedicatee appears with the title of Sacerdos Caeninensis.¹⁷²

It should be obvious that this was no imposition of alien ways in replacement of traditional institutions. There was no essential difference, either in composition or in functions, from the institutions of the Punic civitas, only a change of names.¹⁷³ Therefore as Roman colonies, the three cities changed the structure, or at least the nomenclature, of their local government to conform to Roman usage.¹⁷⁴

Indeed some local peculiarities seem to have been allowed to persist. For example, the citizen-body in any Roman colony was organized into divisions called curiae (the name of voting-groups or wards as at Rome) which had some corporate identity, with their own religious observances and celebrations, as well as functioning as electoral units; entry into them was apparently restricted, perhaps by a property-qualification (in Africa, at any rate), and they elected their own officials. The actual number of such curiae seem to have varied in different places; at Lepcis Magna there were eleven, which were named after Trajan and members of his family.¹⁷⁵ Now eleven seems a curious number to choose in the tidy-minded Roman world: why not ten (like the tribunes of the Roman republic) or twelve (like the great gods of the Roman pantheon)? When we find that in African civitates which had not yet received any kind of Roman-status local administration was supervised by a group of officials called undecimprimi, 'eleven chief men', it ^{is} _L inferred that this number had special significance in the organization of Punic communities; the most explicit explanation would be that they were the headmen of the local divisions.¹⁷⁶ In that case, the existence of eleven curiae in the colony of Lepcis would be a further link with the older Punic Tradition. It seems that eight of the eleven curial wards of Lepcis Magna, whose names are known from the inscriptions of Severan date, were called after members of Trajan's family, clearly as a mark of gratitude for grant of colonial status, and it was probably for the same reason that the Sabrathans named wards after relations of Antoninus Pius.¹⁷⁷ Colonial status, though it flattered the civic prestige brought no financial advantage in itself: indeed its chief financial effect was to render the whole citizen-body liable to the Roman death-duty.¹⁷⁸

Regarding Sabratha and Oea, Broughton suggested that these two cities became Roman colonies at the same time as Lepcis Magna.¹⁷⁹ As this view is not supported by the evidence, Gascou said that the theory in Sabratha's case is based on the relative frequency of the tribe Papiria which is similar to that of the Quirina, and this might suggest the juridical evolution to be similar to that of Lepcis Magna. The city could have been changed to a Latin municipium under Vespasian and later to a colony under Trajan or Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius.¹⁸⁰ Two of the curiae at Sabratha are named 'Faustina' and 'Hadriana'; just as at Lepcis Trajan and his family were honoured by the curial names.¹⁸¹ Curia Hadriana probably refers to Hadrian. Also Faustina could be the wife of Antoninus Pius¹⁸² or Marcus Aurelius¹⁸³. The confusion here is brought about by the similarity of the names. But the uncertainty is very great and it seems best to avoid making a definite choice in the absence of more explicit documents.

In fact inscriptions of the second century attest the normal forms of a colonial constitution; a duumvir in 175-180¹⁸⁴ and an inscription of the second century or beginning of the third century mentions a Genius Coloniae.¹⁸⁵ In any case in the Antonine itinerary¹⁸⁶ Sabratha appears as a colony. The inscriptions of the second century and later record the activities of the ordo decurionum¹⁸⁷ with which is sometimes associated the populus.¹⁸⁸ A magisterial career of the late second or third century sets out the cursus from quaestor to aedile, duumvir and duumvir quinquennalis.¹⁸⁹ Of the municipal priests attested in Sabratha, there are augurs, who paid a summa honoraria for the honour,¹⁹⁰ flamines perpetui, flamines Libri Patris,¹⁹¹ sacerdotes dei Herculis.¹⁹² As for Oea (Tripoli) there is no evidence which may support Broughton's assumption except that this city is near to Sabratha and Lepcis (65 km.

east of Sabratha; 110km. west of Lepcis Magna) and that it was not strange to the privileged circle followed later.

It is confirmed that there was a "duumvir quinquennalis" in Oea in the year 163-164 and he was the chief magistrate in the city.¹⁹³ Also Apuleius mentioned in his Apology that there was a quaestor in Oea at the time of Antoninus Pius. As there was no Quaestor in peregrine cities, this may support the existence of municipal status at Oea at this time. Anyway the first reference to Oea as a colony is in 183-185 A.D.¹⁹⁴ The evidence for Quirina¹⁹⁵ tribe found at Oea does not give us evidence to indicate who was responsible for Oea's promotion from municipium to colony.

Other officers attested in the second century or later are a curator muneris publici¹⁹⁶ and a curator rei publicae;¹⁹⁷ of the municipal priests, flamines perpetui;¹⁹⁸ flamen Divi Vespasiani.¹⁹⁹ Vespasian may have reorganized the provincial cult and have established the office of Sacerdos Provinciae.²⁰⁰ Toutain believes the era of the sacerdos provinciae is a provincial era dating from the disturbances of 70 A.D.²⁰¹ The omnipresent flamen perpetuus in the provincial towns was connected with the imperial cults.²⁰²

Hadrian followed the outlines of the municipal policy of Trajan.²⁰³ He created some municipia of Latin right to which he granted the status of Latium Maius. He restricted the grant of colonial rights, in Africa, to indigenous communes which were prosperous, important and well accustomed to urban life.²⁰⁴ He granted Gigthis the status of Latium Maius, but only after two trips to Rome by one of her prominent citizens.²⁰⁵ Under Antoninus Pius it became a municipium.²⁰⁶

In the time of Hadrian Gigthis and presumably others were ardent

for elevation to municipal status because it brought with it some privileges such as a greater degree of local autonomy and wider extension of Roman citizenship.²⁰⁷ On the other hand the emperors were interested in the advancement in status of cities as such, just to keep the financial and military resources of the empire sound through the accustomed machinery and to exercise a degree of oversight which developed later into a paternalism. In fact the tendency to practise supervision upon municipal affairs began with the appointment of curators under Trajan.²⁰⁸

Although the age of Antonines marks the high point of significant municipalization and Romanization, the inducements to municipal development were decreased by the extension of citizenship and the increased interference of the central government in the local affairs and finances of the municipalities.²⁰⁹ In regard to the municipal policy of Septimius Severus, we find him following the general policy of the second century; as usual he did slightly less than Hadrian in this respect and only a little more than Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.²¹⁰ His policy marks the fulfilment of an evolution whose beginnings were seen under his predecessors. He took a revolutionary initiative in municipal policy and the region which benefitted from it was that around Carthage²¹¹ and also Tripolitania and especially Lepcis Magna.²¹² Upon many he conferred the status of a colony with the not infrequent addition of the ius Italicum.²¹³

As part of Septimius' municipal policy favours were accorded to certain cities whose development merited them. These privileges were no way uniform and represented a strict hierarchy. The greatest, which assimilated provincial soil to that of Italy, was the ius Italicum, and was given to three great African cities: Carthage the capital, Utica, and Lepcis Magna, where the emperor was born.²¹⁴ This privilege brought

with it a great practical advantage, exemption of land-tax (Tributum Soli) and apparently also from the Poll-Tax (Tributum Capitis).²¹⁵

The fact that ius Italicum could not be granted without this immunity accounts for the rarity of the grant. This is confirmed by inscriptions²¹⁶ from Lepcis Magna's baths, referring to an eximiam et divinam indulgentiam, which seems to refer to something more than the restoration or erection of monuments; probably it means to express all the recognition and gratitude of the city towards the emperor for the new concession of ius italicum²¹⁷ and the exemption from any land tax.²¹⁸ The cities rivalled one another to get this privilege and Lepcis Magna would score off her ancient rival Oea.²¹⁹

The great deal of administrative reform which Septimius Severus undertook in some African cities, like the granting of a Council to the main Egyptian cities, suggests that the creation of the Concilium Tripolitanum was one of this emperor's reforms.²²⁰ This Concilium was presided over by Sacerdos Provinciae; the Sacerdos Provinciae Tripolitanae is recorded in an inscription from Gigthis, a Tripolitanian city.²²¹ The duties and the activities of this concilium are similar to those of the African Concilia.²²² It used to hold its session annually except in cases of emergency; but could hold its meetings at any time as it happened when desert tribes (Austurians) invaded the region. This concilium held its meetings twice during a few months.²²³

Of administrative importance is the elevation of Numidia, which had previously ranked as a diocese of the province of Africa, into a separate and independant imperial province under the control of the Commander of III Augusta and with a procurator to administer its finances.²²⁴ It seems that military reasons actuated Septimius Severus

to take this action.²²⁵

The final organization of the interior began at the time of Septimius Severus. Although Trajan and Hadrian ordered the settlements and sedentarisation of Numidian tribes, Septimius Severus pushed them beyond the Roman frontiers.²²⁶ The ease with which the expansion of the frontier zone seems to have taken place in the second century must be explained in part by the lack of the resistance by the tribes.²²⁷ With the settlement and limitatio of the tribes in Africa, as in other frontier provinces, the conquest of territory was succeeded by a period in which its tribal occupants were cantoned into limited territories, and occasionally split into small subsections so as to prevent future collusion and revolt. This process is explicit from the boundary zones set up by the legate at the moment a particular tribe was assigned to a territory.²²⁸

In the Roman tribal settlements in Tripolitania, as can be concluded from the surviving remains, Romanization was superficial and followed the general pattern of the frontier settlements to the west.²²⁹ The object of this process might be described as the definition of separate parts of territory for the purposes of determining ownership and consequently taxation.²³⁰ In the end the subdued Libyan tribes were obliged to cooperate with the Romans and to participate in the flourishing caravan trade.²³¹ Also the Cydamus tribes were transferred from pactae to foederatae and their indigenous chieftains were called Principes or Reguli,²³² and appointed by the Roman government, though their positions were hereditary.²³³

The tribes remaining inside the zone of the limes were united in a Gens which was placed politically and civilly under the command

of the Praepositus gentis²³⁴ or Praefectus gentis, as we see from the Tripolitanian tribes (Cinithii).²³⁵ It seems these officials were responsible for the administration of these tribes, and taxation and the recruiting of auxiliary troops. There is also the praepositus limitis who was responsible for the control of the frontiers.²³⁶ Romanelli argued that as for the affairs of the particular tribes, which had not been attributed and whose individuals were not offered the Roman citizenship, they were administered by a military prefect, while the chieftains of the allied tribes were not invested with the same authority.²³⁷ However, from our interpretation of the Latino-Punic inscriptions in the cemetery at Bir ed-Dreder, it seems that some of the chieftains of the Libyan tribes were appointed by the Romans as tribunes and principes and were responsible for administration and justice.²³⁸

CHAPTER VIII

THE ECONOMY OF ROMAN TRIPOLITANIA

Although Herodotus described the Libyan tribes as nomads¹, Tripolitanian tribes were nomads only in a limited sense. It appears that, at least those of the coastal area, were mostly confined to small areas, and had within their boundaries either permanent centres or regular resorts according to the seasons.²

The Nasamones may be taken as typical; they had their permanent dwelling on the Syrtic coast, where they left their flocks in summer, while they themselves moved to the south to Augila for collecting the date crop.³ Unlike the Nasamones the Macae used to live along the shore in winter and kept their herds confined in pens during winter, while in the summer they left for the Gebel Gharian where water is available.⁴ Also in the south the Garamantes seem to have regular movements, for they used to go into the remoter zones of the interior for hunting, after which they returned.⁵

In the hinterland of Tripolitania there existed purely native towns such as Garama, Cydamus, Boin and permanent oasis settlements in which the Libyans, like those of Augila, Talo and Siwah at the present time, dwelt in houses made of mud and rock salt.⁶ The Gamaphazantes, who were placed by Herodotus to the south of the Nasamones⁷, probably moved from place to place as 'followers of rain'. The nomadic people of the south kept themselves independant as Mela describes⁸. But some of these tribes were settled by the Romans in defined areas where regular rainfall and the more fertile portions of the region encouraged some of the inha-

bitants to become agriculturists at an early period. The region about the Cinyps was according to Herodotus, equal to any in the world for growing grain, the yields being comparable to those of most other fertile parts, such as Babylonia, and the output not less than 300 to 1.⁹ Like Herodotus other historians described the Cinyps region as fertile and productive.¹⁰ The basins of the wadian, in the pre-desert, were productive, El-Bakri (a writer of the XI century A.D.) mentioned that Wadi Soffegin yields a good harvest and the people of Tripoli used to say "Soffegin produces in one year what will suffice for several years",¹¹ and there is no doubt that the basins of Wadian Girza, Al-Mud, el-Bei el-Kabir and their tributaries were fertile in ancient times, as they are today producing cereal crops. Ps-Scylax says that the Lotofagi, inhabitants of Tripolitania, possessed fertile lands which produced much grain, barley and good quantity of oil. He also mentions that the Garamantes, the inhabitants of Fezzan, had many fertile lands, and were wealthy.¹² The productive lands of the Garamantes were still the basins of wadi el-Agial where the capital of Garama, mentioned by Pliny, is situated.

The basins of these well-watered wadis were densely cultivated and doubtless the inhabitants derived their wealth from agriculture. In addition to the horse, mentioned by Herodotus, the faunal remains include sheep, goat, pig, and cattle bones. It seems that Garama was inhabited as early as the fifth century B.C.; the buildings were primarily of mud-brick, and in the late first century A.D., the inhabitants started to use stone instead of mud-brick.¹³

The most interesting feature of the area from an economic point of view is the abundance of irrigation tunnels (foggaras); there were sixty of them in six kilometres,¹⁴ thus those people were settled and practised

agriculture and were not merely nomadic as described by Roman authors. The Carthaginians had been the leading agricultural experts of the ancient world in the third and the second centuries B.C., and long before the Roman occupation. The resources of the areas under their control had been fully exploited. They had certainly intensified cereal cultivation in the western parts of North Africa, especially, in the Bagradas Valley, Cirta and Theveste.¹⁵ Other areas to the east were completely devoted to the cultivation of olive-trees: the region bordering the Syrtis Minor (Gulf - Gabes), around Sydrus (el-Jem) and along the coast of Tripolitania where immense quantities of olive oil were produced.¹⁶ Although Carthage encouraged the people over whom she ruled to produce cereals, she abstained from training them in the more profitable forms of cultivation.¹⁷ Thus there is no proof that any of the farms discovered existed before the first century A.D.¹⁸ However, the Romans did not start from nothing. The Emporia were rich and their lands were productive. Lepcis Magna alone had paid a talent a day to Carthage.¹⁹

Massinissa received compensation of five hundred talents from Carthage after the emporia were given back to the Numidian Kingdom.²⁰ The tribute which the Tripolitanian cities paid constituted a principal source of money revenue for the Numidian treasury.

The heavy fine of oil imposed on Lepcis in 46 B.C. implied a considerable production and, at the same time, gives some idea of the scale on which olives had been cultivated in the pre-Roman period.²¹ This amount of oil is the yield of a million olive-trees in the estimation of some scholars.²²

As a result of the occupation of North Africa, in 47 B.C., the Roman

public treasure received two hundred attic medimni of grain and three million pounds of olive-oil.²³

The oil was evidently the fine imposed by Caesar on Lepcis Magna and no doubt this amount of grain included what was imposed on Tripolitania. Also trade in general provided a good revenue and it had already flourished before the Roman period.²⁴ The coastal cities, especially Lepcis, certainly grew not merely by the favour of its most prominent son, but also by trans-saharan trade by way of the Fezzan.²⁵ As the country of the Garamantes (Fezzan), deep in the interior, consists mainly of scattered oases separated by barren deserts, the Romans neglected it and made no serious attempt to develop it. They were content to despatch military expeditions to subdue the recalcitrant tribes and make occasional show of force when it was necessary.

Excavations have brought to light in each of the three cities buildings whose architectural beauty, spaciousness of proportions and richness of ornamentation can put them at the same level not only as those of other African towns, but also sometimes as those of the Capital itself; for example the theatres of Sabratha and Lepcis and M. Aurelius' arch at Oea. Those provincial towns, such as Lepcis Magna, which had, at the same time, a theatre, an amphitheatre and a circus, were few. This gives an impression that these cities were very rich and had limitless financial resources. On the other hand these monuments also show the high level of civilization which developed mainly on the basis of the successful Roman agriculture in Tripolitania and had reached its climax before the 3rd century A.D.²⁶

When some of the Tripolitanian tribes were settled by the Romans in defined areas where there was a regular rainfall, and encouraged agricul-

ture, they forsook their wandering life and became cultivators and defenders of their own lands.²⁷

However, still beyond the areas occupied by these sedentary peoples, there lay the vast areas of the Sahara in which roamed nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes which made a free nomadic state of the southern parts of the region.²⁸ The incursions of these tribes on the Roman territories and their capacity to damage the agricultural settlements in the north, had been broken by several swift punitive expeditions and finally these rebellious tribes were crushed.²⁹ Thus the fertile lands of the region in the immediate hinterland of Lepcis Magna were opened up to intensified olive growing early in the first century A.D.³⁰ This region had always been considered one of the most promising in Tripolitania, and olives had doubtless been grown there for many centuries, but it was under Roman direction that large farms equipped with olive-presses, spread over a wide area.³¹

The intensive development of the interior and the first appearance of specialized olive farms in any number was the reason for the construction of the Aelius Lamia's road in A.D.17. An expansion about this time could be interpreted as a result of the growing prosperity and increase in trade which accompanied the foundation of the empire; it is important to remember that in addition to its culinary purposes, oil was in demand for bathing establishments and for lighting.³²

In the first stage of Roman rule in Tripolitania agricultural development took place only where the rainfall was especially favourable. Thus we find that the lands which were densely occupied by farms in the 1st and 2nd centuries all fall within the present rainfall area of

150 mm. or more per annum.

In Tripolitania the main areas are the whole of the eastern Gebel from Tarhuna and Msellata hill region to the sea and from the Gebel escarpment to the wadi Targhat.³³ The Gefara plain was famous for its fertility in ancient times and Pliny mentioned that water was found at the depth of two arms.³⁴ There were extensive plantations in the eastern part of the plain, especially in the region of Oea and Sabratha³⁵, though Gsell did not see any importance in the Gefara.³⁶ Evidence (archaeological) attested the existence of olive farms on the coastal strip, in the hinterland of Misurata, in the neighbourhood of Macomades (the town of Sirtis in the Gulf of Sidra) in early Roman times.³⁷

The traces of olive farms in different parts of the region and the existence of ten presses, at least, in every farm indicate the wide spread of olive cultivation in Tripolitania.³⁸

The agriculture of this period was of two types, dry farming of olives, for which Gebel hillsides were particularly suited, and the terraced wadi gardens, behind concrete dams, which produced fruits and vegetables for local market while the main wealth of the farmers was derived from their export of oil.³⁹

In fact there are numerous seals of oil-amphoras found in the port of Ostia (in Italy), bearing names of the cities of Spain, Italy, Mauretania, and a few bearing the name of Lepcis.⁴⁰ Such amphorae were found in Tripolitanian sites and might well have been the containers used to ship oil from Lepcis Magna when Caesar imposed the annual stipendium of three million pounds of olive-oil.⁴¹ Examples of these amphorae seen

by the writer at Lepcis Museum are poorly made with a tendency to lean from the vertical axis.

P. Romanelli argued that the mention of Lepcis as a colony in an inscription on one of these oil amphorae, confirms that Lepcis Magna is intended and not Lepcis Minor.⁴² It seems that Lepcis Magna was the greatest producer or the principal exporting centre amongst the cities of Tripolitania. Although there is no evidence on which to base figures for the average quantity of Tripolitanian oil exported, it was probably around the three million pounds tribute extracted by Caesar from the city (in 47 B.C.).⁴³ However, we may conclude that in pre-Roman times the cultivation of the olive was already extensively carried out in some parts of Tripolitania and this is attested by the remains of the numerous ruined olive-presses of stone frame type, still to be seen in different places of the region, and the olive tribute imposed by Caesar.⁴⁴ A goodly production must have been continued there until the late empire, for when Septimius Severus gave the city the ius Italicum under which tribute did not need to be paid, as a sign of gratitude the city offered him regular amounts of oil which apparently were sent until Constantine gave relief.⁴⁵

The large farms in the Gebel which represent an investment in land and buildings were probably owned by rich citizens from Lepcis Magna, while the small farms were possessed by Libyans who were strongly Punic in language and culture. This is probably attested by a neo-Punic inscription (found at Ras-el Hadajia) which records building by a wealthy Libyan benefactor.⁴⁶

In addition to olives, vines too were extensively grown and were probably, as now, planted between the olive-trees.⁴⁷ According to Columella, there were various methods in the provinces of cultivating



(fig. FM 25(1952) 72).

The Roman farms in Tripolitania are marked by the massive frames of olive presses. The stone frame served as an immovable fulcrum for a stout horizontal beam which was pressed down on the olives and crushed them, the oil being drained away into tanks. These constructions were called *alasnām* (idols) by the natives. The term *ASNAM* could be a corrupt form of punic *SNIM* 'two' and probably here refers to the two columns of the olive press.

vines; the most common and easy way was to make it grow along poles and canes, as a trellis. In the mosaics of Caesarea and Thabarca we can see, as well as the trellis method, two other methods of cultivating vines, both pointed out by Columella: one being to keep the vine alone, like a small tree without any kind of support and the other, which is the most characteristic, of supporting the vine with canes and reeds arranged in circles. This form of cultivation is not seen at all in the Tripolitanian mosaics, even though the cultivation of vines was widespread in the country, except in a fragment now in the museum of Constantinople, in which we see a vine-shoot, rising from the ground without any support and curving under the weight of a large bunch of grapes.⁴⁸

Although in ancient as in modern times North African wines were regarded as inferior to those produced in Europe, the Tripolitanian land produced a noted wine⁴⁹ and gourmets prized African truffles, as is illustrated by Juvenal who considers them more highly than the supplies of corn.⁵⁰

Pliny asserts that nature gave Africa entirely to cereals, merely not depriving it altogether of oil and wine.⁵¹

The Nasamones were involved in the clandestine trade in Cyrenaican silphium, which they exchanged for wine at Carax; and this fact is of considerable importance, as it demonstrates that the production of wine carried a certain weight in the Tripolitanian economy, if it could constitute an object of exchange with other products.⁵² Apuleius mentioned that wine was amongst the products of a large farm near Oea.⁵³ In one of the mosaic panels of Zliten, in the coastal area, old women are hoeing in a vineyard.⁵⁴ Vines were also cultivated in the interior of Tripolitania and vine-scenes are depicted on the Girza monuments. The

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capitals and friezes bear ornaments of bunches of grapes and vine shoots. Other indirect reference on the dense cultivation of vines can be found in Ammianus who mentions that the Austurians devastated a lot of trees and vine farms in the region when they were pillaging Lepcis Magna in the fourth century (363 A.D.).⁵⁶ Thus vines continues to be cultivated though the Antonine emperors did not give much encouragement. The edict limiting vine-growing passed by Domitian in 92 A.D. seems to have been based at least in part on the view that vineyards had grown dangerously at the expense of cereals.⁵⁷

The evidence of Cicero shows that this was not the first measure intended to restrict vine cultivation in the provinces,⁵⁸ and Philostratus says that the edict was intended to curb provincial unrest.⁵⁹ However, it illustrates the extent to which this type of cultivation had spread by the end of the first century A.D.

There is little doubt that cereals were less profitable than olive-oil. Although nature did not deprive Africa altogether of oil and wine, it gave it over entirely to cereals.⁶⁰ Africa became Rome's greatest single granary and provided durum wheat of the finest quality, and it was more important than Egypt in supplying Rome with corn.⁶¹ Cereal remained an important natural product of this province during the Roman period. In the poetry of the time Africa was described as a rich country.⁶² Tacitus also testified to the importance of Africa as a grain province at the time of civil wars which ended with the accession of Vespasian.⁶³ Septimius Severus sent troops to Africa to prevent his rival, Niger, from seizing it and cutting off the grain supply.⁶⁴ The nature of this economic importance came from the fact that the population of the City of Rome depended significantly on grain supplies from Africa for its foodstuffs.

Italian agriculture had experienced problems ever since the second century B.C., while at the same time the population of the capital itself was constantly increasing.⁶⁵ The temporary hold up in supplies of African grain brought the Roman capital to the verge of starvation. The coins of the first century A.D. attest the importance of the corn shipments from overseas and the emperor's care for the supply of Rome.⁶⁶

As an attempt to stimulate the grain trade and at the same time to help the people of Rome during the grain shortage in Rome in A.D. 19, Tiberius fixed the price to be paid by the ordinary buyer at two sesterces a modius less than the prices asked and he promised to make up the difference to negotiators.⁶⁷ He also asked the Senate to set the price of grain in the market annually.⁶⁸

From the mid-first century A.D. certain measures were taken by Claudius and Nero to ensure the continuity of supply of grain in a better way. These measures included a new arrangement which affected both the merchants and the shippers and aimed at increasing their numbers and securing their services by official contracts for fixed period.⁶⁹ Claudius' law granted some privileges to the ship owners who carried grain in ships of a certain size and Nero exempted these ships from taxes.⁷⁰ As an encouragement to make risky winter journeys Claudius promised to compensate for loss through storm.⁷¹

Commodus organized a grain fleet for conveying the African cereals to Rome and appointed a procurator resident in Africa to supervise the grain shipments. Apparently he did this to make the supply secure, when supplies from Egypt seemed uncertain.⁷² This official was probably responsible to ⁷³praefectus annonae in Rome, who was assisted by the procurator annonae who

carried out the actual work.⁷⁴ Also during the late empire a regulation (dispositio) organized the shippers of the African fleet in a definite order, which arranged their journeys between the African seaports and Rome.⁷⁵ At this time, as before, so important were the African supplies for Rome, that there was a special ^{official} the praefectus annonae, subordinate to the praefectus praetorio himself who was responsible for the collecting of the supplies and their shipment to Rome.⁷⁶ Thus Rome depended on Africa for the supply of grain and olive oil required to feed her hungry population.⁷⁷ The African provinces ^{are said to have} supplied grain for the multitude of Rome suffice for eight months in the year and that of Egypt for four months.⁷⁸ Later when Constantinople became the capital of the eastern half of the Roman Empire, and began to have its supply problems, the corn of Egypt was diverted there, and Rome had to rely almost entirely on the amounts from Africa, especially proconsularis and Numidia.⁷⁹

Thus African wheat and oil were the chief exports.⁸⁰ There is evidence that the shipments of oil from Tripolitania continued from the time of Caesar until that of Constantine.⁸¹ The agricultural products were usually consumed inside the region or paid over as taxes in kind by people who were subject to Roman taxation, or exported by traders to the ready market which Rome provided for African products and brought prosperity to the coastal cities.⁸² In quality African grain ranked third amongst the grain types,⁸³ a great part of it was used for the annona.⁸⁴

Under the Roman Empire there were two types of taxes; direct and indirect. The basis of direct taxation in Tripolitania was probably still the stipendium of the three million pounds of olive-oil extracted from Lepcis by Caesar (46 B.C.).⁸⁵ The chief indirect taxes or the portoria as they were called bore different names in different parts of the empire. Africa.

had four main taxes; as the quattuor publica Africae for which there was an office in Lepcis Magna.⁸⁶

- (a) customs duties on goods imported by sea, *or land into the province*
- (b) 5% on freeing of slaves,
- (c) ~~5~~ on inheritances,
- (d) 1% on sales.

The taxpayers, the landlords (or tenants - coloni - on estates), were at the mercy of the tax collectors or contractors (conductores) and they had often risen in protest against their extortionate demands; the rising of the Nasamones is the best example here.⁸⁷ Also in 238 A.D. the land-owners of the district around Thysdrus were able to assassinate the Imperial tax-collector by mobilizing their labourers. This rising, against the excessive exactions by this procurator, quickly widened into a rebellion against the Emperor, Maximinus, and the proconsul of Africa, Gordianus, was proclaimed emperor by the rebels. This initiated a general revolution against the Emperor Maximinus who was eventually overthrown.⁸⁸

As for the wood trade Herodotus says that the hill of the Graces (Msellata) was covered with trees and Strabo mentions woodlands on the promontory of Cephalae (Cape Misurata). But Sallust says that Lepcis was separated by deserts from Cyrenaica and Tunisia, and Lucian describes the land between Lepcis and Berenice (Benghazi) as arid sand.⁸⁹ In any case the northern part of the region was probably thickly wooded like other parts of the Mediterranean lands. Shipments of wood from Africa presumably included Tripolitanian wood.⁹⁰

The Roman period saw a considerable expansion of the area under cultivation in these provinces. The achievement is reflected in the impressions of African writer Tertullian "Famous deserts have been obliterated by fair estates, forests have been conquered by ploughed fields,

wild beasts have been put to flight by flocks of sheep, the sands are sown, the rocks are planted, the marches drained, there are more towns than there used to be huts --- everywhere there are houses, people organized government, life."⁹¹ Although he describes, here, the state of affairs in the Roman world in general, it is probably reasonable to suggest that it reflects primarily conditions in Tertullian's native Africa.

The coastal plain and terraces of the Gebel were one of the granaries of the ancient world, and reference to the region is seldom without mention of its fertility.⁹² It produces bumper cereal crops and other fruits of the earth.⁹³ Sabratha, which is situated near to the Gefara plain, probably was a good market for the wheat produced in this plain and no doubt she used to export the surplus to Rome. The floor of the Sabrathan statio at Ostia represents its trading role.⁹⁴ In the X Century A.D. the city, *and* Tripoli (Oea), were considered the main markets in Tripolitania.⁹⁵ The evidence (arch.) attests the importance of corn in the economy of the region. Threshing of corn in the area is depicted in the mosaic of the Dar Buk Ommera at Zliten.⁹⁶ Aurigemma observed that the method of beating here is recorded as far back as Homer (Iliad, XX, 610 ff.). As well as oxen,⁹⁷ also horses can be seen being used in the Tripolitanian mosaics. It seems that wheat and barley continued to be the main element of food until later times.⁹⁸

Following the reorganisation of the limes Tripolitanus and the construction of the three main fortresses (Cholaiae, el-Gheriat, Cydamus), which represent the southernmost limit of

Roman penetration into the interior of the region, there began, during the third century A.D., a phase of agricultural settlement which brought under cultivation vast areas of pre-desert marginal land. In particular, the basins of the large wadis Soffeggin, Girza, Zemzem and el-Bei el-Kabir, where the rainfall is today under 100 mm. per annum, were densely cultivated.⁹⁹

In the predesert climate a cereal harvest could not be counted on every year, but in a good year the basins of these wadis can still produce bumper crops. Thus the main grain land seems to have been south of the Gebel, on the Gefara plain and the predesert wadis.¹⁰⁰

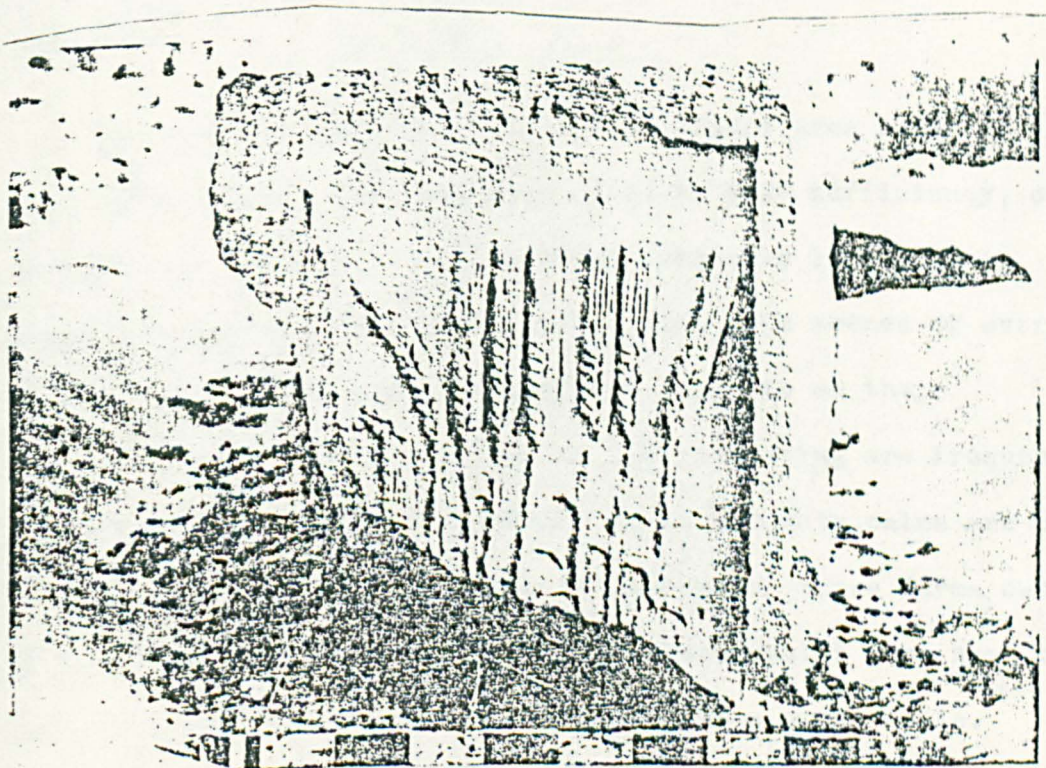
In the latter area, fruit trees, like olive, fig, almond, which can endure a dry climate and, at the same time, could survive rainless years, and it is probable that the great wadis (e.g. wadi Girza), in ancient times resembled wadi Beni Walid today, with olives planted between the wadi walls and, when there is enough rain, barley sown among the olives.¹⁰¹

Also date-palms may have been planted (its fruit is still used as a food by the Libyans), and the fibres served for the making of cord.¹⁰² Wine, called caryotis by Pliny, and described as being capiti inimica,¹⁰³ was prepared from the fruit. Mela refers to this kind of wine when he speaks of a sucus bacarum as a Libyan beverage.¹⁰⁴ The uses of this tree are numerous; its leaves as fuel and for making parts of camel saddles. The fibre is used for weaving good rope.¹⁰⁵

The oases also participated in the economy of the region, by their production of dates, wools and hides, which are good for



From Girza, well-laden date-palms
(Figure from GM 25, 1952)

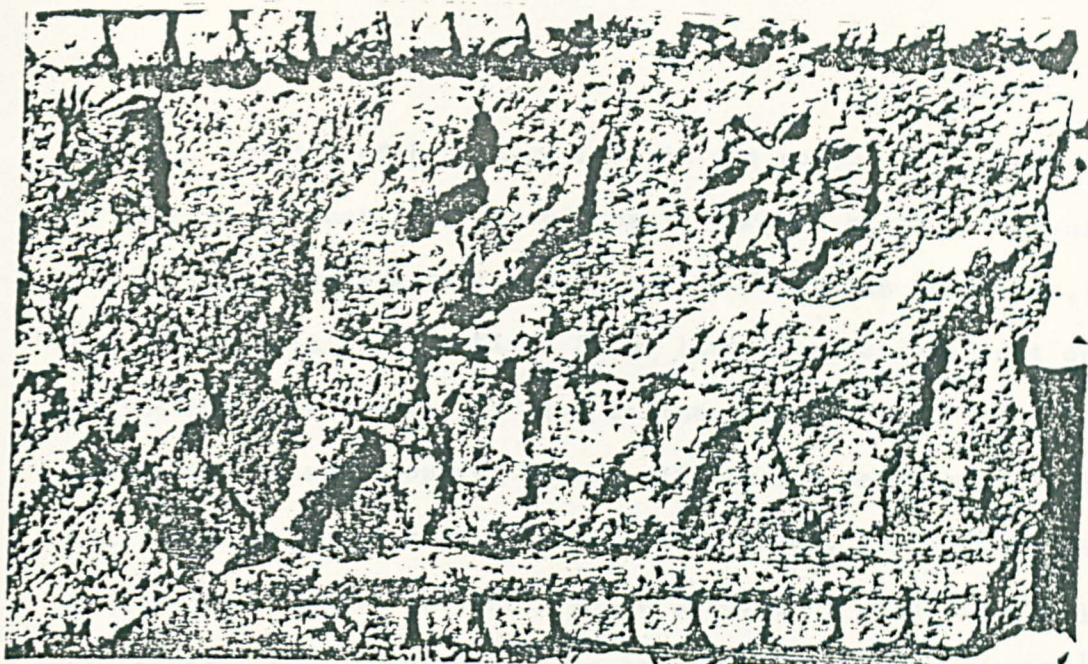


Henscir EL-AUSAF TIGI - wheat
(Figure from PBSR 22, 1954, plate XVIIIb)

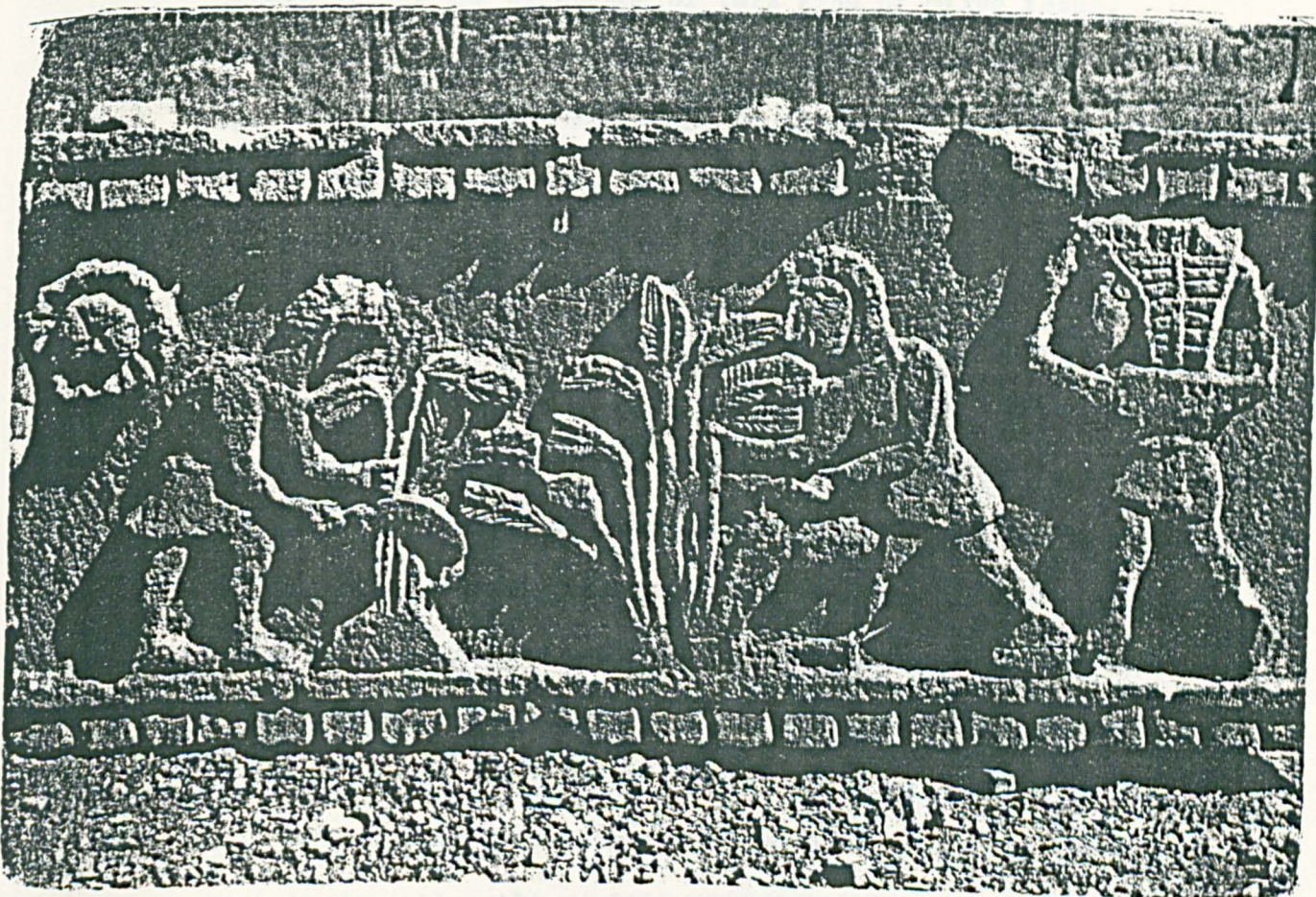
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wide exchange or barter.

Of the actual development of the frontier agriculture, Goodchild says that initial settlement of the same type as Girza began in the third century A.D. and increased with time until they became abundant in the fourth century A.D. The fact that some of the predesert estates were surrounded by hutments of slaves and dependants led him to deduce that a feudal society sprang up in the frontier zone. 107 This presumably coincides with what Frontinus mentioned about the large estates owned by African citizens. 108 Pudentilla owned a big estate in the region of Oea, and a large number of slaves and many villas, where she and her family went frequently and could easily oversee the work and look after the rural sanctuaries without which the fertility and abundance of the harvest could not be assured. 109

The form of agriculture in the predesert area seems to have been mixed farms, which probably aimed at self sufficiency, or at most, at supplying local markets. Frontier landlords in Roman Tripolitania decorated family tombs with scenes of everyday life on their farms and they put more emphasis on their agricultural activities. Ploughing and harvesting are frequently depicted, and cereals, olive-trees, vines and date palms are all represented. 110 It seems that the owners of these farms owned flocks, herds and cattle, and their animal wealth must have been great to allow of periodical sacrifices on a great scale. 111 As the climatic conditions were probably the same in ancient times throughout the south of Libya, we can use the evidence of



(a) From Girza - Ploughing scene (Al 3, 1930, 61, fig.5).



(b) From Girza. Harvesting: two men are reaping while the third carries a loaded basket. (Photo: Department of Antiquities)

Synesius writing of his large farm in the south of Cyrenaica.

He informs us that it produced wheat, barley, honey, olive-oil and figs, though its real wealth lay in its herds of horses, camels and cattle.¹¹²

Mixed farms like these existed not only in the pre-desert zone, but also in the coastal area. Apuleius describes a farm belonging to his wife in the neighbourhood of Oea, which produced corn, barley, olive-trees, grapes and other fruits of the earth ... and a large herd... of valuable cattle and several hundred slaves and a beautifully decorated house.¹¹³

The archaeological evidence from the mosaic panels of Dar Buk Ommerra attest the existence of this kind of mixed farms.

In one panel the goats are being milked outside the dairy; in the second old women are hoeing in the vineyard; in the third the mistress of the farm is sitting under an olive-tree watching the oxen and horses tread out the corn.¹¹⁴

Although there is no evidence in the Gebel for the existence of large estates, imperial or private, the archaeological and literary evidence confirms their existence in the coastal plain.¹¹⁵

The imperial estates were situated in the Gefara plain in the neighbourhood of Sabratha and Oea rather than Lepcis,¹¹⁶

while large private estates were numerous in the Tripolitanian coastal area. On many of these estates the landlords built villae rusticae, which were used as dwellings for their servants, as stores for products, tools and as shelter for the cattle.

Near these villas the wealthy owners usually constructed villae urbanae for their own occupation and used them as country residences.¹¹⁷

The suitable situation for a villa was the seaside and accessible to the city where the landlord usually lived. These villas, villae urbanae, were carefully constructed and beautifully decorated and adorned with paintings, and can be distinguished from villae rusticae and ordinary farm-houses by abundant signs of luxury; colonnades, domestic baths and mosaics. The best example is the villa of Zliten which demonstrates high fine art at that time.¹¹⁸

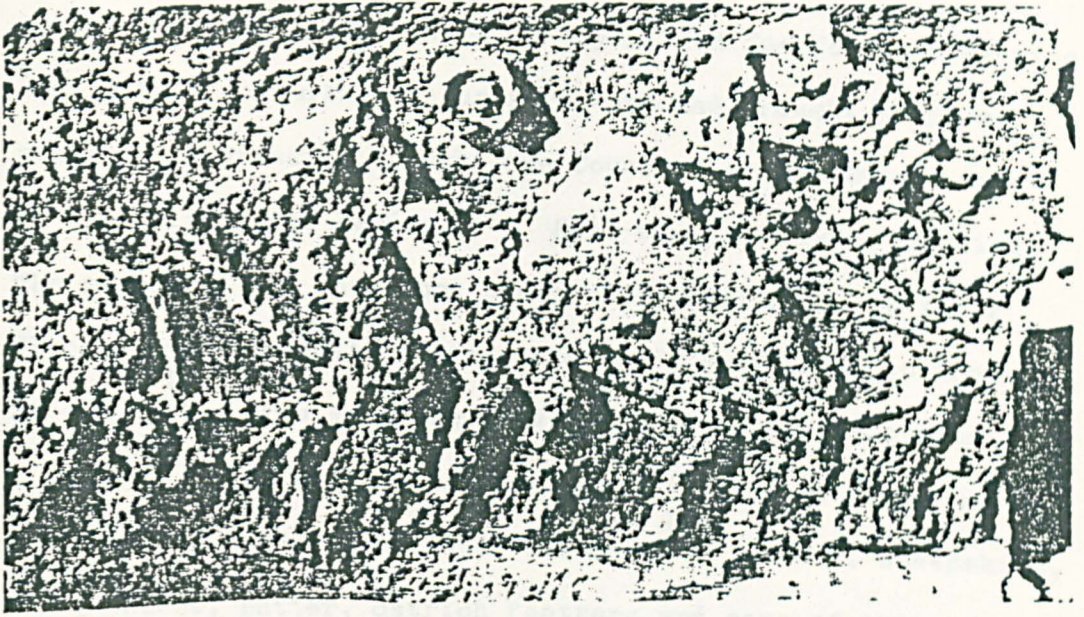
The date of the mosaics of this villa poses a problem here. Aurigemma ascribed it to the Flavian period.¹¹⁹ Foucher argued that there are several phases in this villa and its mosaics, and that the earliest of these is probably at the end of the first century and before 150 A.D.¹²⁰ Others ascribed the mosaics of the Zliten seasons, the most controversial, to the early second century A.D.¹²¹ K.M. Dunbabin has studied the development of the mosaics of Zliten and concluded that the main scenes in the mosaics of Zliten (agricultural and amphitheatre scenes) were made by artisans from the eastern Mediterranean settled in Lepcis during the late first or early second century. They created a Tripolitanian school which is responsible for the local influence and the production of the seasons at Zliten. In the second century A.D. Italian influence can be felt in the mosaics at Zliten, especially, the ornamental ones. Some works of restoration could be ascribed to later dates.¹²²

In any case, from the mosaics at Zliten (in Tripolitania) and at Cherchel (in Algeria) it seems that the daily life in farm

and agricultural activities were the main subject for the mosaicists. Ploughing, harvesting, threshing and grazing were all depicted. Some of the mosaic panels portray the agricultural activities of successive seasons. Others show the economic exploitation of agricultural products, some of which were used for ornamental purposes such as flowers, fruits and vegetable baskets.¹²³ Undoubtedly, these agricultural scenes depicted in the mosaics found in the rich villas at the coastal area and also the reliefs of the wealthy citizens in the hinterland of Tripolitania (e.g. Girza) are good evidence for the flourishing of the economy of the region.¹²⁴

Agriculture was not the only economic resource of Roman Tripolitania. Animal husbandry was another. Both the ancient writers and archaeological evidence attest the presence of large numbers of animals in the interior of the region. Herodotus mentioned that "Libya is full of wild beasts" above the litoral zone.¹²⁵ Lucian stated that the Garamantes lived mainly by hunting.¹²⁶ Apuleius was afraid of the heat of Syrtis as well as the dangerous animals he could encounter on his way to Alexandria.¹²⁷ In the coastal area the Nasamones¹²⁸ and the Macae had their flocks.

The domestic animals, as we know from the epigraphy¹²⁹ and the mosaics¹³⁰ of the region and the ancient writers¹³¹ during the Roman period, included sheep, goats, cattle, horses, camels, birds and ostriches.¹³² The Tripolitani-
 ans used the skins of wild beasts as well as those of domestic cattle.¹³³ But since the wealth of a tribe consisted in its flocks and



(a) From Girza - ploughing scene (A1 3, 1930, 59, fig.4).



(b) Nalut, Ostriches and Antelopes (A1 3, 1930, 67, fig.12)

herds, domestic animals were rarely killed for food; they were mainly kept for milk, or for farm work and drought purposes, since their drinking troughs are found in large numbers only on farms like sidi Hamdan.¹³⁴ Meat was provided by hunting. The people of the interior, since their wealth lay in their flocks, used the meat of wild animals in preference to that of domestic.¹³⁵ The Nasamones living along Syrtis practised fishing¹³⁶ and used to eat locusts.¹³⁷ The Libyans used to trade in the products of their animals;¹³⁸ wools, sheepskins, milk, cheese, butter, ostrich feathers and some of their animals were killed as sacrifices.¹³⁹ Thus, pastoralism and hunting must have played an important part in the economy of the region.

Tacitus mentioned that the mutual stealing of cattle and crops led to the war between Oea and Lepcis Magna in 70 A.D.¹⁴⁰ and this suggests that there must have been a great animal wealth as well as considerable pasture available in the region.¹⁴¹ Fentress stated that "Although grazing land was held in common, the herds seem to have been held on an individual basis".¹⁴²

Apuleius records the large herds of cattle which Pudentilla possessed. The importance of livestock in her patrimony springs clearly from the place that the capital sold in the form of animal holds in the donation made by Pudentilla to her sons "Pecora amplius neque pauca neque abiecti pretii".¹⁴³

The wealth of Pudentilla, as a very rich Tripolitanian native, amounted to 4 HS millions.¹⁴⁴ She had a large country

estate with a 'suburbana villa' in the neighbourhood of Oea, with a town house in the same city, with 15 slaves.¹⁴⁵ She gave some part of her fortune to her sons after her marriage. The donation was made in kind and it included fertile land, 400 slaves, together with a beautiful decorated villa, large quantities of corn, barley, wine, oil and other crops and large¹⁴⁶ herd of animals.

Thus, Pudentilla's fortune was invested in land, slaves, houses, and animals. It seems that the slaves constituted a great part of it. S. Gsell¹⁴⁷ estimated their value at 800,000 sesterces and he bases his assessment on the forma censoria referred to on an inscription from Henshir Snuber.¹⁴⁸ But Escurac contradicted this by saying that the price of each slave according to the forma censoria of Henshir Snuber is only an estimation and does not necessarily correspond with the average selling price of slaves in Africa at the time of Apuleius. It is also certain that Pudentilla had initially, before giving the slaves to her sons, more than 400 slaves.¹⁴⁹

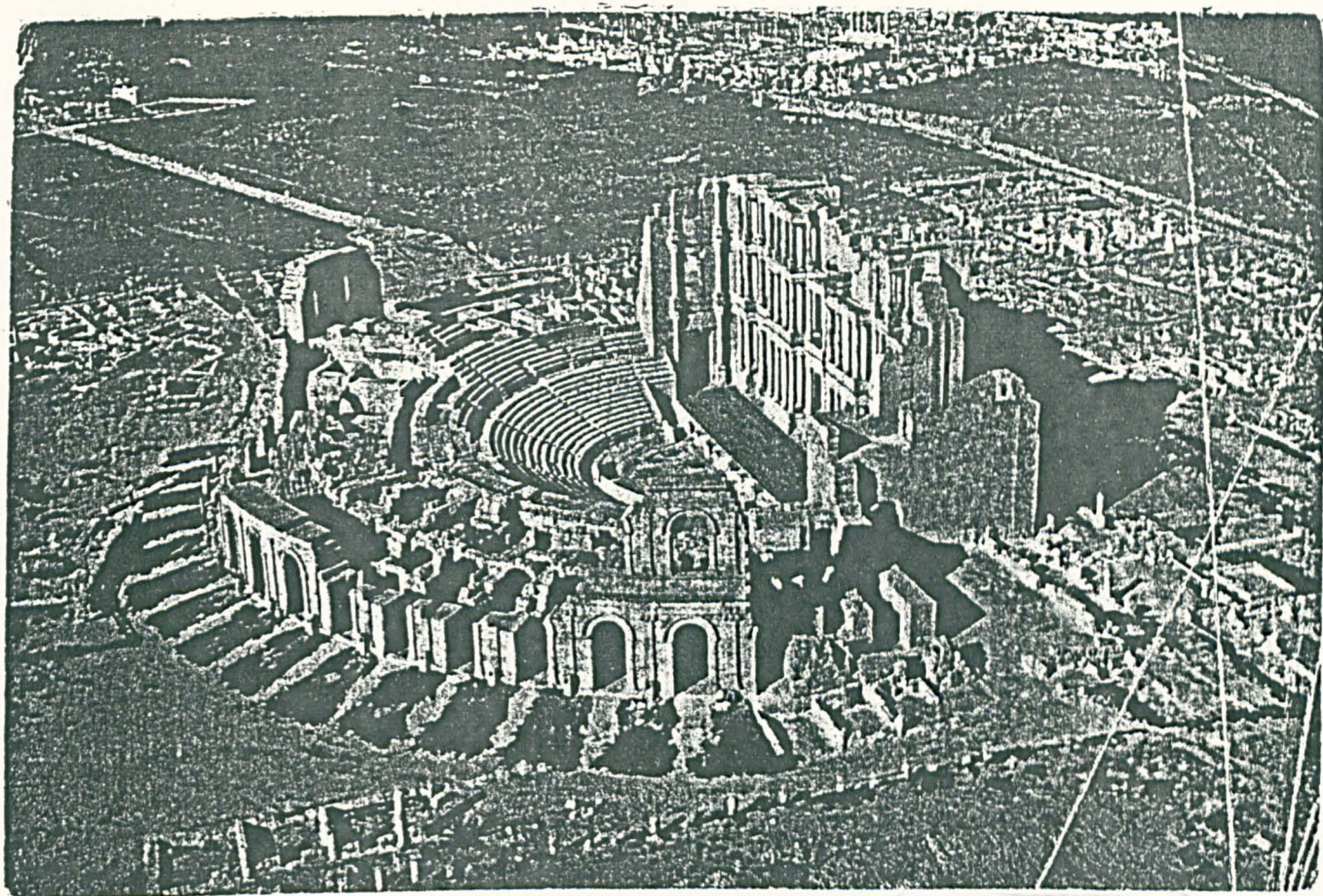
Duncan-Jones suggested that her original fortune included a large labour force of not less than 600 slaves. He added that if grains, olives and wines existed on Pudentilla's farms and according to the manning ratios given by the agrarian writers, a working force of 400 would mean an area under cultivation of 8,800 iugera and therefore the implied land price for Pudentilla's estates is about HS 390 per iugerum; if the number of the slaves is more the total could have been higher.¹⁵⁰

These slaves used to work on Pudentilla's lands under her direct control. She oversaw the work and checked the accounts, but it seems that she left the marketing of the products to specialized managers.¹⁵¹ By her clever management she was able to increase her fortune as well as the inheritance of her sons.¹⁵²

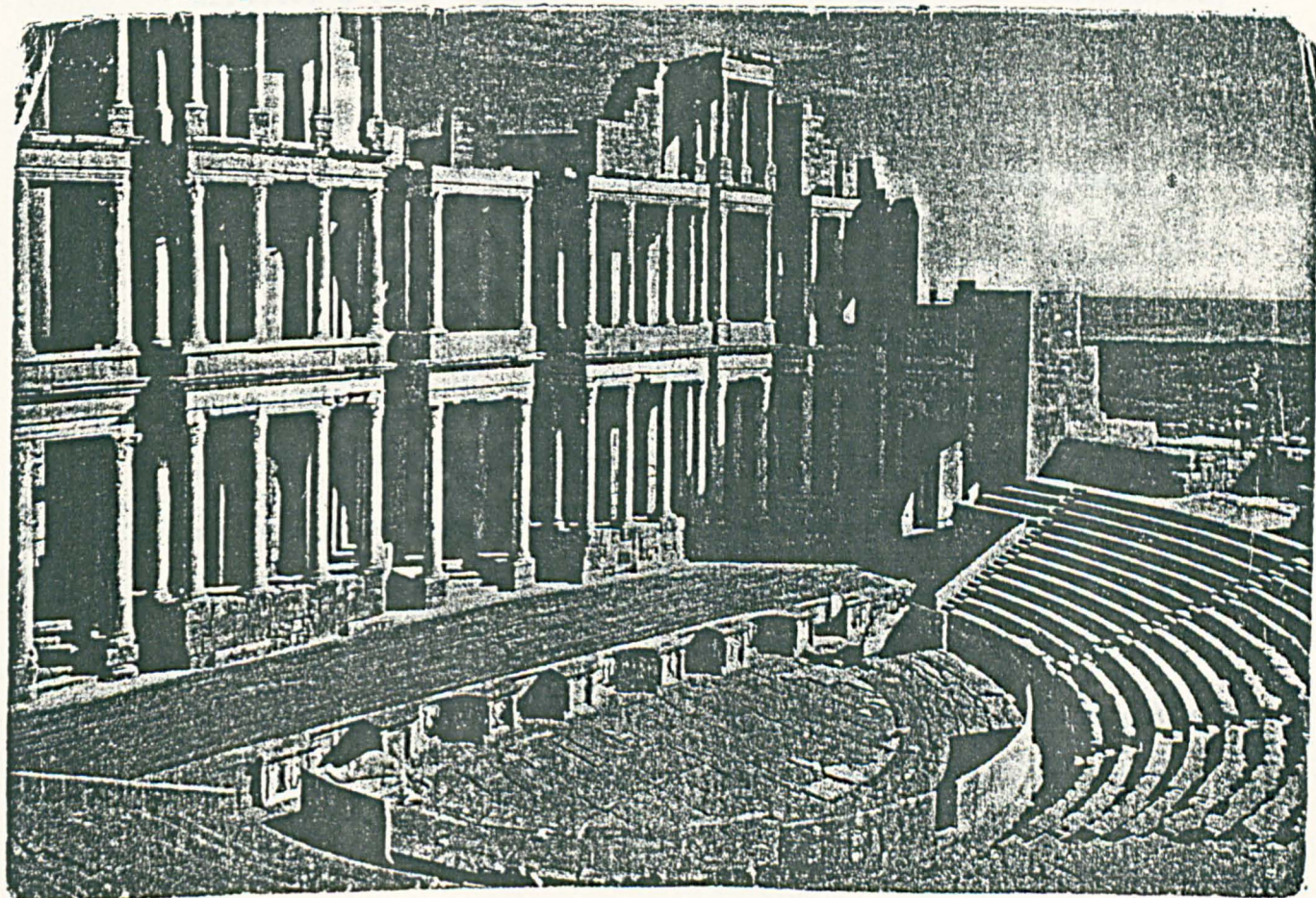
Not only rich people could make fortunes through exploitation of the land, but also poor farmers, described by inscriptions as 'agricola bonus', 'diligens agricola'. One of those was that reaper, from Mactar, who could acquire a piece of land and by increasing its production and extending its area, was able to make a considerable fortune and obtain a good social position.¹⁵³

Thus, the investment of money in land, in Africa, was a profitable affair, and it was an important source of revenue, which led to the prosperity of the coastal cities (Leptis, Oea, Sabratha). The clear increase in the prosperity of these cities, during the Roman period, can be demonstrated by the vast expenditure on non-productive objects; temples, statues, tombs, the wide spread of new building operations and restorations and the increase in the number of gifts such as dinners and games by citizens to their towns.¹⁵⁴

The ruins of Leptis Magna are much better preserved and more of the important public inscriptions have survived. A legacy of a million sesterces at Leptis to pay for sixteen statues is not only the second largest cost attested in Africa, but also gives a statue price of an astonishing size, over HS 65,000 per statue.



The orchestra and stage, of the theatre at Sabratha demonstrate the high level of civilization which depended on Roman agriculture and the caravan trade and reached its climax before 3rd century A.D. (Photo: Department of Antiquities - Tripolitania)

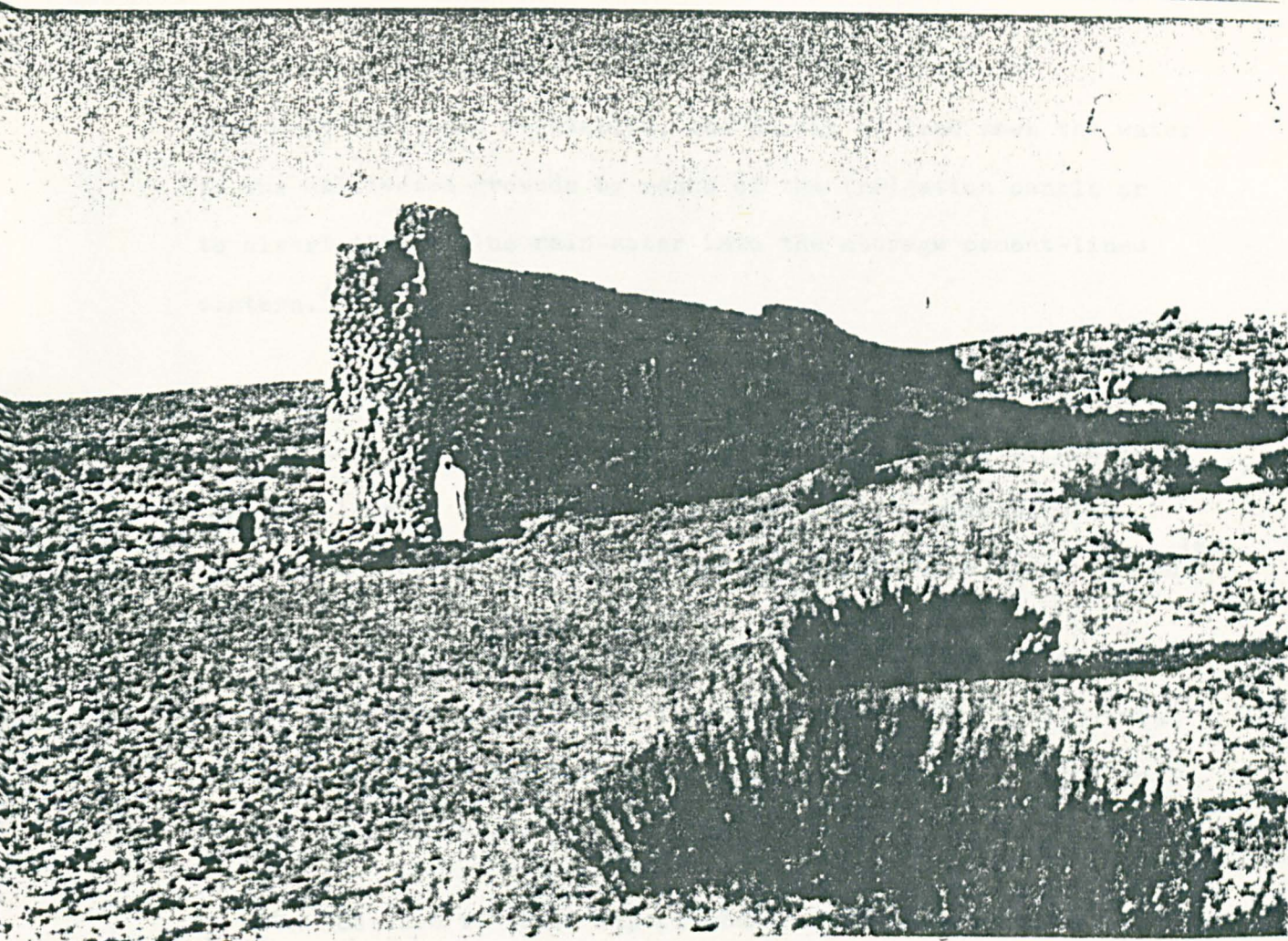


The stage of the theatre at Lepcis, reconstructed at the time of Antoninus Pius, costs HS 500,000 per statue, more than any other building component known in Africa; the materials, such as marble and statues, that survive indicate that the money went on an excellent work of high quality.

Lepcis also provides the most expensive tomb, in Africa, whose cost is HS 80,000. An individual silver statue from the mid-second century A.D. is the most expensive statue of any material in this province. ¹⁵⁵

The Roman economic policy, as described by Tacitus, aimed at the exploitation of Africa. ¹⁵⁶ Thus, by introducing advanced methods of water conservation and by systematic construction of wells and irrigation canals, they greatly effected a real expansion of the area of land under cultivation, principally in the southern part of Tripolitania. The remains of water-systems and aerial photography have revealed the presence of barrages and irrigation canals throughout the region. ¹⁵⁷

The Tripolitanian farmers took steps to gain the maximum advantage from the flow of flood-waters down the wadis by constructing terrace-walls across the width of the wadian-beds at fairly regular intervals. ¹⁵⁸ Associated with these terrace-walls were watertight catchment walls forming a barrier between the wadi-bed and the slopes on either side of it. The object of these barrages was partly to prevent soil erosion and collect earth above the dam forming silt, which is suitable for the



Concrete dam, at Azizia in Tripolitania

The control and maximum utilization of winter rains was the key to Rome's agricultural success in Tripolitania (GM 25 (1952) 74)

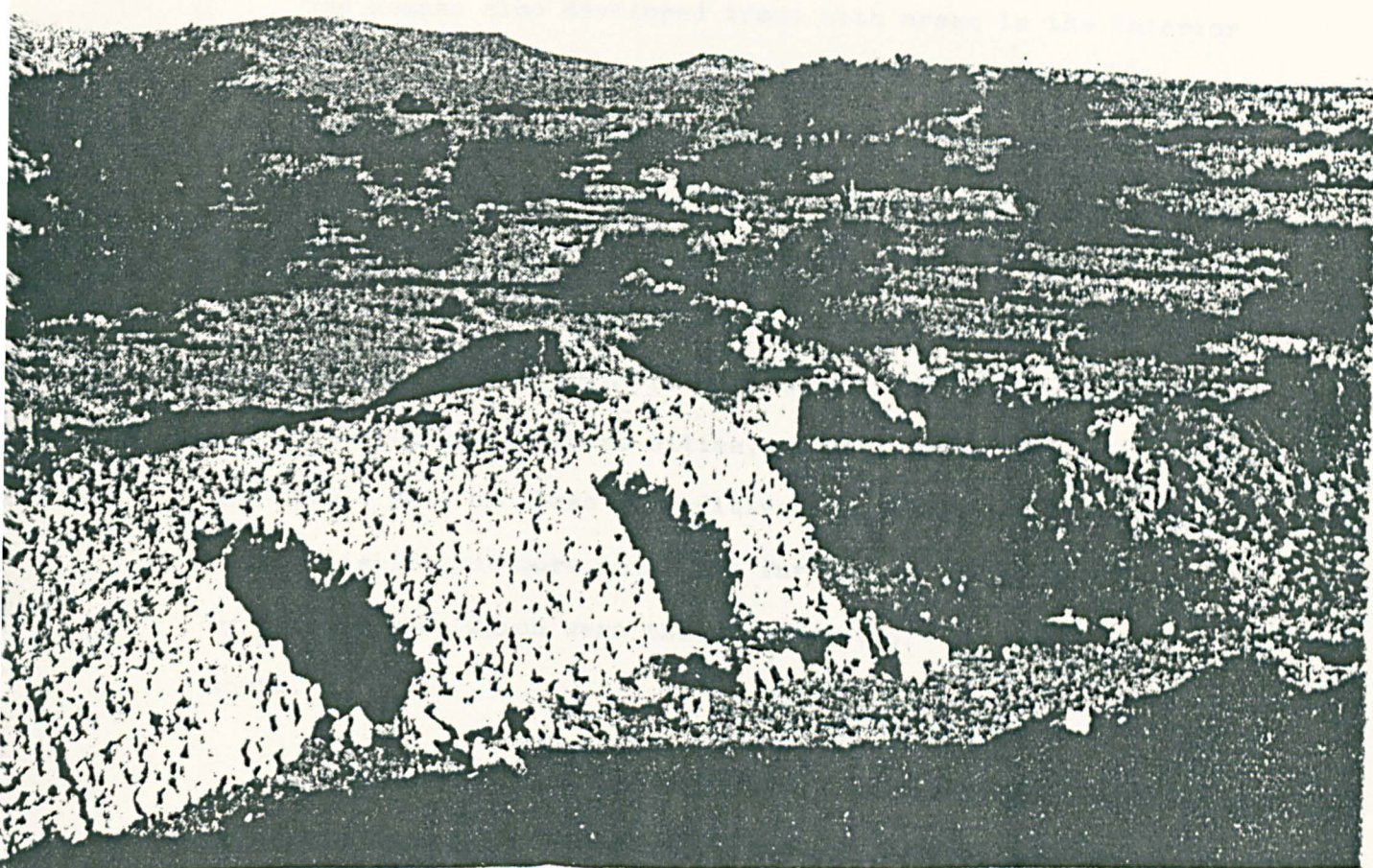
growth of fruit and vegetables, and partly to lead down the water to the cultivated grounds by means of the irrigation canals or to divert the surplus rain-water into the storage cement-lined cistern.¹⁵⁹

The existence of such a huge water-system, which consisted of barrages, irrigation canals, cisterns and aqueducts, has led some scholars to think that there was a certain agricultural pattern in the region under the control of the local authorities.¹⁶⁰

It is clear from the abundant evidence of these water-works that they played a great part in the extending of the cultivated area and in developing agriculture in the region on a large scale in the Roman period.

In addition to their experience in water-works and irrigation, the Romans knew how to distinguish between the types of land and had experience in cultivating a land with a dry climate.¹⁶¹ Thus, new farming techniques and methods were developed by the natives and the equipments of cultivation were improved. So, the reliefs of the mausoleums and mosaics of African regions carry scenes¹⁶² depicting the plough yoked to two oxen, a horse or camel instead of being pulled by an obstinate donkey and old woman, as Pliny saw in Byzacena in Africa proconsularis.¹⁶³

In any case, the huge water-system and the very large number of ruined olive-presses and the remains of farms throughout the region, associated with a good agricultural production and a large number of animals - all these indicate a great development in the agricultural field.



'Surplus rainwater was diverted to cement-lined cisterns in the vicinity of Roman farmhouses. In the example at Faskia in the wadi Zemzem, the flood-water was first purified in an open sediment-tank before passing to the main cistern, which was arched over to prevent evaporation.' (Geogr.Mag., XXV, 1952,75).

The Romans also developed trade with areas in the interior outside their formal borders. The caravan trade encouraged by the security of the caravan routes and the world wide markets resulting from Roman rule must have increased exchanges between the interior and the coastal cities.¹⁶⁴ The products of the African interior were brought to these centres: precious stones, gold (both wrought and in dust), ivory, animals for the amphitheatres of the Roman cities, slaves, salt, ostrich feathers and eggs. Some of these commodities were obtained within the region itself, but more came from further afield, transported by the caravans which were the main asset of the people of the south.¹⁶⁵

The coastal cities imported from the Garamantes the precious stones (of uncertain provenance) known as carbunculus, in which Pliny attests a wide commerce with the Troglodytae who brought it from Aethiopia (Sudan).¹⁶⁶ Another kind of the precious stone was the 'syrtide', a type of topaz, quite different from the Garamantic and Aethiopian carbunculus.¹⁶⁷

It is well known that Tripolitania was one of the centres for the export of African ivory.¹⁶⁸ An inscription found in Tripoli records an ex-voto to Liber pater, which consisted of two elephant's teeth.¹⁶⁹ Also, a figure of an elephant is depicted in the mosaic floor of the delivery room of the Sabrathan statio at Ostia.¹⁷⁰ Another marble statue of an elephant was set up beside the main colonnaded street of Leptis Magna, possibly a symbol of the trade in ivory and other commodities. Elephants from the African jungle were familiar in art if not in life to

every schoolboy.¹⁷¹ At Ostia there is an inscription, recently discovered on a tomb-stone of T. Flavius Stephanus, praepositus camellorum, a freedman of one of the Flavian emperors; under it figures of an elephant and two camels are incised.¹⁷²

In any case the archaeological evidence summarized above probably indicates a new form of commerce, during the Roman period, that of supplying animals for the Roman amphitheatres, most of which were brought from Africa where they were chiefly hunted ('*ferae libycae*') and exported through the port of Lepcis Magna to Rome and other places.¹⁷³

The export of circus-animals, which were brought from Chad, via Fezzan, to the Mediterranean regions, is attested by coins (of Domitian's reign) on which the two-horned desert rhinoceros is depicted.¹⁷⁴

The evidence (epig. and arch.) attests that Lepcis was one of the principal exporting centres for wild animals, during the Roman period. An inscription records that a certain Porfyrius, "*amator patriae et civium suorum*", gave to the city as a gift "*quattuor feras dentatas vivas*", probably four elephants. On the same relief two ships were portrayed and that suggests that maritime trade had been the fundamental source of Porfyrius' fortune.¹⁷⁵

Animals, such as lions, panthers, deer etc, which were probably exported through the port of Lepcis are depicted in the mosaic of Zliten.¹⁷⁶ The large number of animals, around



A tombstone of T. Flavius Stephanus, praepositus
camellorum, a freedman of Flavian emperors.

[Not. d. Scavi., 1953, 276]

5,000 in a single day, which were killed in the Colosseum at Rome, gives us an idea about the importance of this trade, of which a great proportion must have been exported through Tripolitanian sea-ports. 177

In any case, it seems that the Roman traders were interested in the carbunculus which according to Pliny came from Fezzan; but as for the gold, ivory and the ostrich plumes, there is no evidence that Fezzan was a source for these items. Thus, they were presumably brought from the Sudan and other parts of Africa. 178

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The good rock-salt, known to the classical world, was probably brought from the interior or from its mines at Bu Chemmash (near Sabratha).¹⁸⁰ It was probably brought to the coast to be consumed locally in the pickling of fish,¹⁸¹ or exported to other places.

Also from the south slaves were brought by their captors to the coastal city-markets and bought by wealthy people to increase their labour force on their land like Pudentilla in Oea, or exported by the slave-dealers (usually Punic) to external markets. 182

From the south the ebony of southern Aethiopia (Sudan) of which Herodotus informs us,¹⁸³ rhinoceros horns from the fabulous Agysimba (perhaps Ghat) and animal skins, were probably carried by the Garamantian caravans to the coast.¹⁸⁴ Some of these materials were internally used and the surplus was exported to foreign markets. 185

In addition to the products of the interior, the exports of the litoral zone were oil, grain, sheepskins, horses, camel hides, syrtic sponges, aromatic gums, grass mats and baskets, dried fruits, wool.¹⁸⁶ Finally the sulphur of the Gulf of Syrtis Maior was exported to the Cyrenaican cities.¹⁸⁷

In general, as we have already mentioned, the exports were natural products, either coarse like salt, hides, and sulphur or luxuries like ivory, precious stones, ostrich feathers and skins of wild animals.

As for the imports, the evidence (epigr.) demonstrates the supply and use of imported marble for architectural purposes in the Tripolitanian cities, especially Lepcis and Sabratha. The majority of this marble was used for the paving and for covering of wall surfaces.¹⁸⁸ The marble was imported from different quarries and some types, in particular, the black marble was considered a symbol of luxury.¹⁸⁹ Plautianus, the praetorian prefect, ordered some panels of black marble to be used in the Severan basilica in his patria (Lepcis Magna).¹⁹⁰ However, it seems that the carving was done after shipment at the Tripolitanian cities.¹⁹¹

Other imports were: pottery, glass, lamps of Roman origin, foreign cloth fabrics, metal objects and woollen cloths. The evidence (archaeol) attests that there was fairly close contact between the hinterland of Tripolitania and the Mediterranean Sea. Samples of the imports mentioned above were found at the Garamantian tombs at wadi el-Agial. The finds range in date from 1st to 4th centuries A.D.¹⁹²

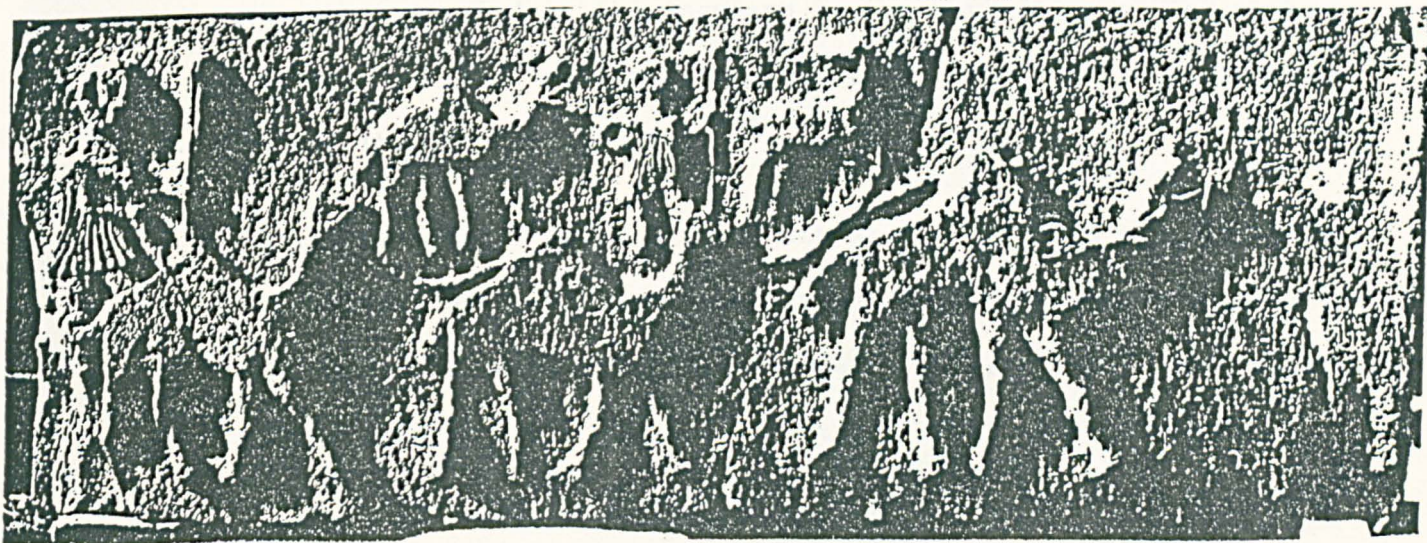
It seems that the Roman imports into the interior of the region began at the end of the first century A.D.¹⁹³ and after the pacification of the interior of Tripolitania by Valerius Festus (70 A.D.). It seems that this expedition and those¹⁹⁴ which followed it, of Suellius Flaccus and Julius Maternus compelled the Garamantes to bow to the Romans at the end and to cooperate with them for mutual benefit. This is probably confirmed by the fact that the King of the Garamantes accompanied Julius Maternus on a slave-raid against the Aethiopians, and by the Garama Mausoleum, which dates from the first century A.D., and probably commemorates Roman commercial agent and his successors; it was constructed at Garama presumably with the approval of the Garamantan King.¹⁹⁵ The evidence (arch.)¹⁹⁶ from the tombs of the Garamantes confirms Gsell's view that the Roman imports were rather more abundant than those of earlier centuries.¹⁹⁷

The archaeological evidence summarized above indicates that the Garamantes continued to benefit from their position for two centuries or more after the recorded missions.¹⁹⁸ This also suggests that both sides must have reached an agreement by which the various tribes through whose territories the caravans passed got a fixed revenue as opposed to one extracted by force.¹⁹⁹ Thus, the Libyan tribes were obliged to relinquish their habit of caravan-robbing²⁰⁰ and stopped their forays which had seriously affected the Roman trade with the interior and they started to protect the caravans instead of rifling them.

The trans-saharan caravans were encouraged by the security of communication and the world-wide markets resulting from Roman rule and must have increased their operations between Sudan and the coastal centres of the region. The activities of Tripolitani-
 as agents for exports to foreign markets are attested by the inscription engraved on the mosaic of the Sabrathan statio at Ostia.²⁰¹

In the region's economic history, the means of communication which played the main role are the trans-saharan caravan trails.²⁰² As the Tripolitanian sea-ports provide a cheap sea-transport to the threshold of the desert, the products of Aethiopia (Sudan) have always sought these saharan exits in preference to the waterways (the river Nile, the Niger, the Singal).²⁰³

Actual trans-saharan trade, for reasons already explained, must have been secondary, until the use of the camel became common. The circumstances and the date of the introduction of the camel into Tripolitania and north west Africa are disputable,²⁰⁴ and some scholars have sought to date it to the third century A.D.²⁰⁵ But as its existence in Africa in 1st century A.D. is attested by literary and archaeological evidence;²⁰⁶ its common use was presumably before these dates.²⁰⁷ This probably draws its confirmation from the fact the Phoenicians gave a great impulse not only to maritime but also to land commerce whose caravans were active before Roman times.²⁰⁸ According to Ammianus the Lepcitanians refused to give 4000 camels to Romanus,
comes Africae,²⁰⁹ and this indicates the importance of the camel as



Ghirza - Caravan scene (EAAC ,p.868 ,figure 1082)

a means of transportation in the Sahara at that time. No doubt its introduction into the region was an economic revolution and a great development with "incalculable consequences".²¹⁰

Its use as a means of transport made the main centres of the Garamantes and the interior of Africa more accessible and consequently led to the increase in the activities of the trans-saharan caravan trade and eventually to the economic development under the Severan emperors.²¹¹

The Tripolitanian coastal cities (Lepcis, Oea and Sabratha) were recorded by the two itineraries and the geographer Ptolemy as important towns with seaports which were, no doubt, busy with ships carrying oil, grain and exotic products from the south.²¹² Also Gigthis had a sea port with docks; in its ruins large jars, obviously for oil, were found.²¹³

As for the Tripolitanian industries, it seems that they were not highly developed and were confined to products for local use. Pottery fragments, which were found in kilns, in different parts of the region, show that its manufacture was not advanced and was limited to coarse wares which were suitable for local use such as 'kitchen wares', lamps, vessels and amphorae.²¹⁴ The latter were the main product of these kilns. This is confirmed by examining the pottery from the kilns of Tazzoli (Sidi Assid), Ain Scersciara (at Tarhuna) and that on the Tripoli-Homs road (km 102).²¹⁵

As the amphorae were produced alongside with other items which formed an integral part of agricultural activities, Goodchild's

suggestion that the villa and kiln site were not contemporary, must be treated with caution, as they may both have been functionally diverse parts of a single estate. ²¹⁶

Garum or fish-sauce, was the only product known abroad, especially that of Lepcis Magna. It was probably made from the fish which were caught and salted in the factories of Lepcis Magna and Zuchis (Buheret el-Beban) on the lesser Syrtis). However, the trade in salted fish was quite extensive along the Tripolitanian coast. ²¹⁷

Incidentally, the fishermen of Oea are mentioned, when Apuleius undertakes to refute the Argumentum piscarium ²¹⁸ the accusation made against Apuleius for using certain fish for magical purposes. One learns then that he, through his faithful slave, Themision, ²¹⁹ takes an interest in the catches of the fishermen of Oea and offers them gifts to incite them to get him certain rare species. ²²⁰

Pliny also mentions the export of a sought-after speciality of Garum produced at Leptis ²²¹ which is believed to be a culinary preparation. ²²²

The making of leather in Tripolitania was noted abroad and praised for its good quality and make. ²²³

Tripolitania is an agricultural region where many sheep were raised. Martial praised the fertility of the Cinyps region and said that its goats were distinguished by their long hair of ²²⁴ which cloths called cilicium were made. This might be expected to have required many skilled workers in cloth, though specific evidence

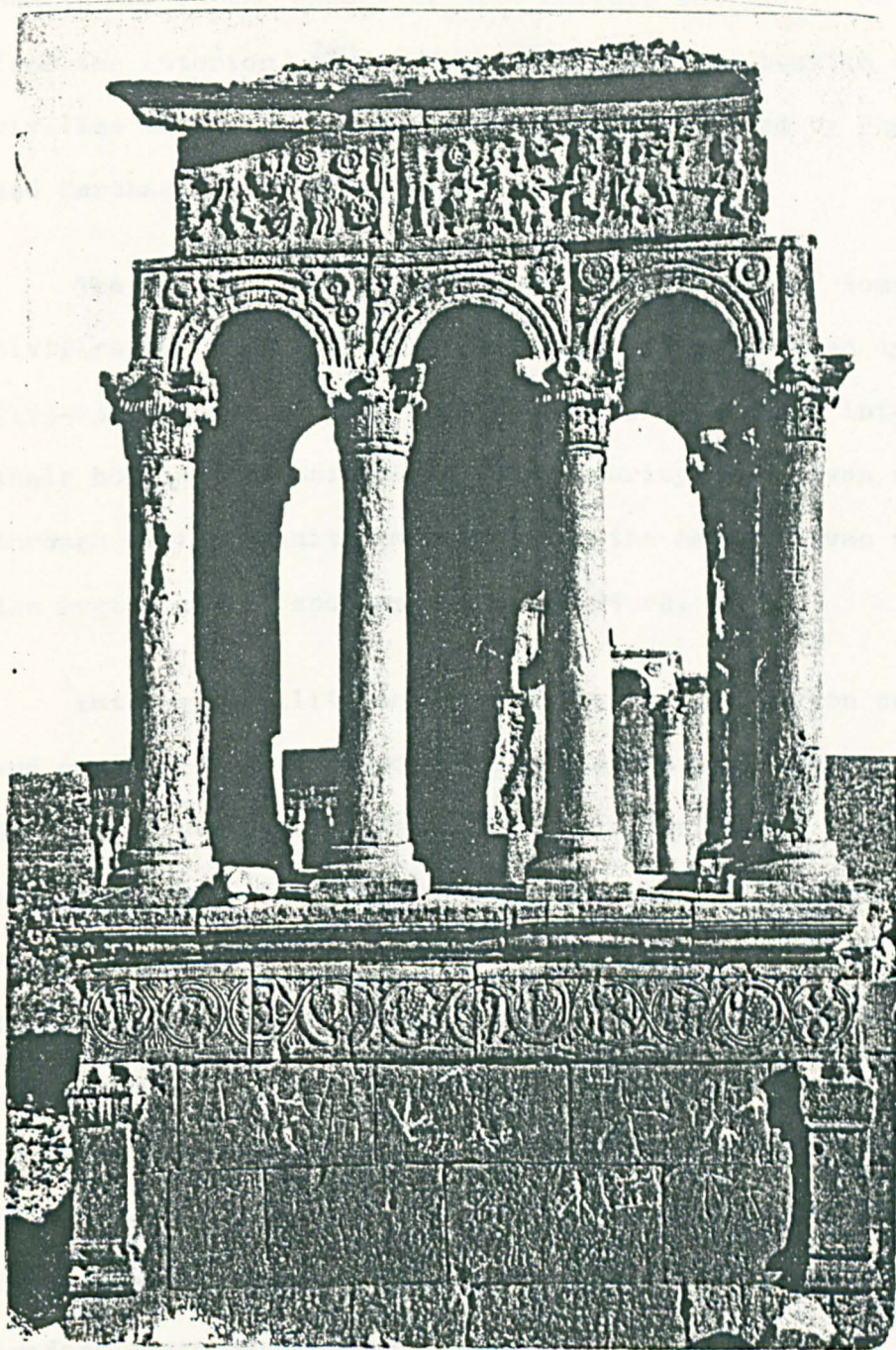
for manufacturing cloth on the spot is still rare.²²⁵ It seems that the manufacture of cloth was carried out in small workshops and on a limited scale and for local use. One of these workshops existed in Gigthis (a Tripolitanian city). This is confirmed by a dedication which was set up by the fullers to its owner.²²⁶ Also there was an imperial purple factory on the island of Meninx (Gerba in Roman Tripolitania) at the time of Claudius (Gothicus, A.D. 168-70).²²⁷ Other manufactures such as cloaks and garments were perhaps made in Tripolitania, since Diocletian's price edict gives evidence for their manufacture in Africa.²²⁸ Weaving at home, for local use, is still practised by the people of the interior and also by berber women in Algeria.²²⁹ Also the flax of the swamps of the Cinyps (wadi Caam) was praised for the manufacture of nets.²³⁰

The Romans concentrated on manufacturing some agricultural products, especially olive-oil and wine, and their role in this field was wider than that of the Carthaginians, because every Roman city depended very much on her local economy and every town had its olive presses and grain mills and that, no doubt, led to the wide diffusion of locally-based commerce and industry dependent on agriculture.²³¹

Although domestic production was perhaps uncommon within the urban market sector of the economy,²³² it may have been more common within the tribal territory, into which the market economy had not penetrated.²³³

In any case, it seems that Tripolitanian industries, like those of Africa, had developed little during the Roman period.²³⁴

We may conclude here that the advent of Roman rule, initially and for many years, was very beneficial to the region of Tripolitania. They succeeded in improving the economic position of the region by developing its economic resources and maintaining security and peace which stimulated the trans-saharan caravans to increase their activities between the south and the coastal cities and that surely led to the prosperity of Tripolitania in general and Lepcis Magna in particular.²³⁵ As the coastal cities attained their greatest expansion with beautiful public and private buildings decorated with mosaics and marbles, so some of their citizens became very rich.²³⁶ Not only those who lived in the coastal area were wealthy, but also some of the natives in the interior were very prosperous; that is attested by the grandiosity of their tombs, which is clear in their architectural lines and decorations,²³⁷ whereas on the other hand, the inscriptions engraved on the tombs of these natives are in 'Latino-Punic'. They liked to add to their Libyan or Punic name some old and glorious Roman one. The rough and naive art of the decorations used to adorn these tombs are the clear evidence of how and to which point Roman civilisation permeated these Libyan peoples.²³⁸ The splendour and magnificence of the Tripolitanian cities, which the excavations have revealed attest the richness of the region's economic resources²³⁹ and the stability and prosperity which these cities enjoyed under Roman rule. Thus, the prosperity of these cities was seen to have been founded on agriculture, animal

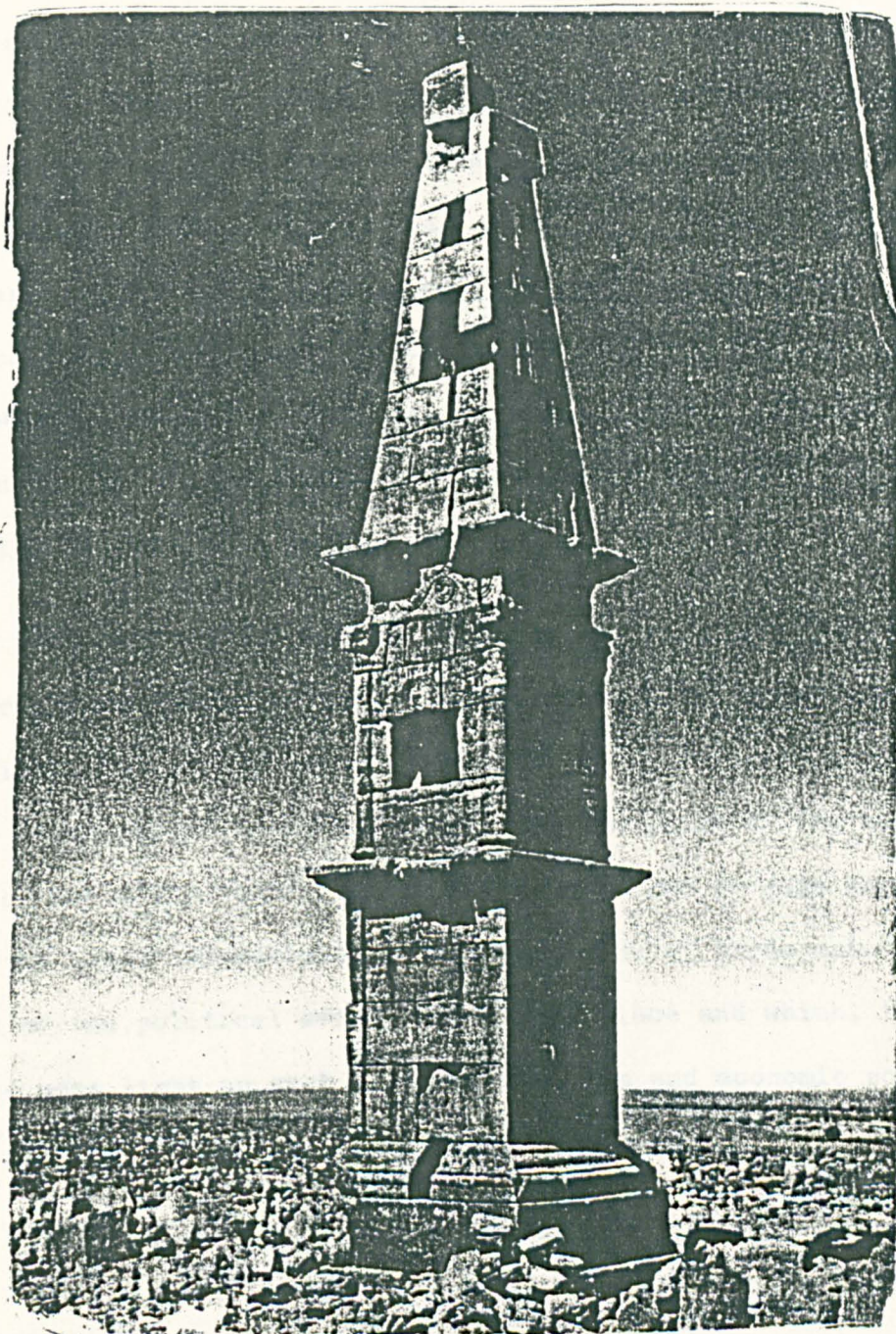


Temple-type tomb in the northern cemetery, Girza
 (Photo: Department of Antiquities of Tripolitania)

wealth and on the export of wild animals and exotic wares brought from the interior. ²⁴⁰ The Romans did their best to develop and civilize the region, continuing the work started by Phoenicians and Carthaginians and the Numidian Kings.

The most prosperous and flourishing period of Roman civilization in Tripolitania was that of the Severan dynasty (193-235), those African emperors who showed their interest in their homeland by maintaining the security of caravan routes through military units garrisoned on the main caravan trails in the region and by encouraging agriculture.

But the stability and prosperity of this region came to an end during the disturbances following the assassination of Alexander Severus (in 235 A.D.). This confusion, as already mentioned, had its bad effects on the economy of the Roman empire in general and the African and Tripolitanian in particular. Taxation rose to the maximum heights to keep pace with the demands of emperors and needs of armies. As coinage lost most of its value because of inflation, the regular taxes were levied in kind and its payment depended on the municipal decurions who found it a heavy task and intolerable burden. The activities of the caravan traders decreased because of the lack of security and the attacks of brigands. This, with depreciation of the money, brought the trade eventually to a standstill. No doubt, the chief victims of this period of disorder were the wealthy families of the provincial cities, who suffered a lot from the extraordinary confiscations and heavy taxes. ²⁴¹



Obelisk tomb at Mselleten wadi Merdum
(Photo: Department of Antiquities of Tripolitania).

The evidence (epigr.) confirms that Tripolitanian cities had suffered from these disturbances and they were in financial straits. There is a clear mention on an inscription which records a "cur(ator) rei) p(ublicae) Leptimⁿ(agnesium) et Tripolitanorum T. Clodius Pupienus Pulcher Maximus".²⁴² The appointment, not later than 238, of a curator rei publicae for Lepcis and Tripolitania is a clear indication that the country was in a bad financial condition by then, for this imperial official was usually sent to run administrations of provincial cities which failed to pay their taxes.

Finally, as the ancient classical writers have left very scarce information concerning the region, only systematic exploration and digging can offer the sort of information needed for a more complete understanding and knowledge of the monuments which are still hidden in the ruins, but also to gain knowledge of the legal and administrative conditions of three main cities, and of the political events which took place and which, in turn, shed more light on such a legal situation and economic position.

CHAPTER IX

THE LOCAL CULTURE

Before the Roman conquest, there were two languages in Tripolitania, Libyan and the Punic. Müller said that the dwellers of the rural areas spoke Libyan, while those who lived in cities spoke Punic, which survived during the Roman period.¹ But the evidence of Latino-punic inscriptions attests the diffusion of punic in the interior of Tripolitania.² Lepcis, Oea and Sabratha struck coins with Punic legends up to the time of Tiberius.³ There is evidence that Punic was spoken by many inhabitants of Lepcis⁴ and Oea;⁵ Sabratha must have been the same.

The archaeological evidence confirms that Tripolitania has many monuments of Punic style from the Roman era⁶. Sallust recorded that the Punic language was pure at Lepcis, except for a few words which came from association with the Berbers (or Libyans), "*eius civitatis lingua modo convorsa conubio Numidiarum, legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica*".⁷ Di vita said that an agricultural population of probably mixed Libyan and Punic origin, but of Punic language and culture, was firmly established in the hinterland certainly from the first century A.D. and before the extension of the Roman forts to cover the zone of the limes from the Severan period.⁸ Punic was the spoken language in the region, even amongst the aristocracy, and this is clear from what the poet Statius says about the orator Septimius Severus, the grandfather of the emperor with the same name "*Nescius africae*": "*Non Sermo poenus, non habitus Tibi/externa non mens, Italus, Italus*".⁹ It suggests that the lingua punica was not a source of pride and its knowledge was mocked as barbarous by one's enemies and caused embarrassment to one's friends and relatives.¹⁰ Broughton mentioned that Punic speech remained the language in general use, and this is made

clear from passage of the Apology, when Apuleius, speaking in Oea, tried to discredit his stepson: 'Loquitur numquam nisi Punice ... enim Latine loqui neque potest'.¹¹ Also S. Augustine demanded that his deacons learned the Punic language ('lingua Punica') in order to be able to deal with the folk in Numidia and probably in Roman North Africa from the Atlantic coast to Tripolitania, which easily exposed to the influence of the ancient Carthaginian culture.¹² Millar concluded from the evidence of Augustine that the 'lingua Punica' was a semitic language related to biblical Hebrew, though it did not rival Latin as a language of culture. It was wide-spread as a vernacular, not only in the coastal areas, but also in the hinterlands.¹³ He added that the literary and documentary evidence not only confirm Augustine's data, but made it sure that Punic was in general use as a spoken language during the Roman period in North Africa.¹⁴ Courtois said that written Punic disappeared after the second century and generally the spoken language disappeared after the third.¹⁵ Others have admitted that it is difficult to find documents which prove the existence of Punic at the epoch of Augustine and if it survived it was in a form of patois and in some rural areas.¹⁶ But as the latino-punic inscriptions confirm the diffusion of punic and its wide spread in the interior of Tripolitania and its survival during the Roman period none of those suggestions is valid now.¹⁷ Some historians have suggested that Augustine was probably referring to the Libyan language, when he spoke of the language of the tribes beyond the Roman frontiers.¹⁸ Anyway Libyan was not a language of culture and there is no indication that it was used in a current ordinary way.¹⁹

Undoubtedly the Phoenician-Carthaginian culture had its influence in the coastal zone of Tripolitania, where the three emporia were, and spread into the hinterlands via the indigenous people.²⁰ The traces of this culture are explicit in the language of the region and this is confirmed

by inscriptions written in Punic on some pottery vessels which were discovered at Lepcis Magna, and also by the inscriptions of the pro-consul Lamia at Ras-elhadagia-Terhuna in Tripolitania,²¹ and the latino-punic, found in the interior of this region.²² Millar says that the Punic language was officially used at the time of the Roman emperors, Augustus, Tiberius and Domitian.²³

The Ancient Punic had developed into Neo-Punic which appears in the inscriptions discovered in different places of the region such as Wadi el-Amud, Bir Geberah, Mesaletin, and Gefara.²⁴ The latter illustrates graphically the Romanization of a wealthy local family and it appears to date from late second century or early third.²⁵ These inscriptions indicate that the indigenous population know Neo-Punic and they continued to use it, even after Latin became the official language at the beginning of the Roman period.

These two languages took official form in the Tripolitanian region, and that is clear from the inscriptions of the temple of Augustus and Rome and the market.²⁶ Some believe that written Punic's last instance of use is what we find in inscriptions from Lepcis Magna appearing to date from 92 A.D. which are recorded in both languages, Latin and Punic.²⁷ Others say that though the use of the languages (Latin and Punic) in written texts continued during the first century, then Latin took the place of Punic in second century. Traces of Punic are still evident in the texts of the third and fourth centuries.²⁸ However the evidence of the latino-punic inscriptions suggests the usage of punic as a written language during the Roman period and till later times.²⁹

In any case it seems that the extended inscriptions written in Neo-Punic appear roughly up to the beginning of the second century and brief formulae up to the third century.³⁰ Numerous neo-Punic epigraphic

texts give proof of the prevalence of the Phoenician element; they have been found in various parts of Tripolitania, at Lepcis Magna, Oea, Sabratha, in the zones of Tarhuna, Mizda, and Misurata and Syrtis.³¹ The Punic language was therefore widely spoken in the territory of the ancient emporia and subsisted, notwithstanding the spread of Latin. Having been the official language for various centuries, it probably ceased to retain this characteristic only at the time of Tiberius, when Tripolitania lost its autonomy and its right to mint money.³² Therefore the Romans took away quite quickly from the Punic this characteristic of its official status which it had in Africa, but only did this in a limited way with the rapport between the cities and the central powers; in private life and markedly in commerce, Punic continued to be a wide-spread language for a long time; alongside that of the rulers, especially in Tripolitania, it persisted together with Latin for a longer time and was currently spoken besides Latin itself even amongst cultured people and that is clear from what was said about Septimius Severus; 'Punica eloquentia promptior, quippe gratus apud Leptim';³³ and elsewhere 'canorus voce, sed ^fArum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans'³⁴ and at the same time this may suggest that Punic had a brief period of renewed splendour, at least at the time of Septimius Severus.

It has been correctly pointed out that the survivals of the neo-Punic language appear, not only in private life, but also in certain public manifestations; which confirms the robust vitality of the nation and of the Phoenician culture in Tripolitania even after the Roman conquest, the respect which the new rulers showed towards the native customs and institutions for which they substituted their own, according to general Roman policies,³⁵ not with violent measures, but rather by gradual means of penetration and absorption.³⁶ It is moreover characteristic that.

it is only in the context of Roman ^{Tripolitania} ~~V~~ that the Punic language was able to co-exist with Latin, not as a spoken language, but also as a written language; anyway this indicates that in the high imperial period the Punic population was numerous, and had its own culture and a firmly-rooted belief in its own national autonomy, and that such a belief was recognized and tolerated by the central government. Therefore two civilizations, the Punic and the Roman, co-existed peacefully side by side, throughout several centuries.³⁷ And with language persisted certain fundamental elements of the Punic civilization, the religion, and certain political institutions and customs.³⁸

In addition to the Neo-Punic inscriptions, other types of inscriptions have been found in Tripolitania written in Latin characters, but in a language which is not Latin. Goodchild described these inscriptions as 'Latino-Libyan inscriptions' and presumed that their language was Libyan, and he associated them with the establishment of limitanei in the zone of limes Tripolitania.³⁹ But some historians have contradicted this by saying that these inscriptions are really 'Latino-Punic inscriptions' written in a debased form of Punic with Latin lettering, and they appear between the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. approximately.⁴⁰ Others mentioned that the Punic language and culture was established in this area from the first century A.D. and before the Severan age, and that the limitanei were established after the third century.⁴¹ But if we accept that Punic was the language of the agricultural society in the hinterland of the region, where "Latino-Punic inscriptions" were found, we encounter a problem here: why are these Tripolitanian inscriptions in Latin rather than ^{the} Neo-Punic alphabet?
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Some said that though Neo-Punic was officially recognised in the

first century as the language for transactions with the people of the inland regions, ^{but} the decline of this language in the coastal cities and the spread of Roman influence in the interior as a result of the twin processes of immigration and Romanization led to its disappearance.⁴² Anyway during this period it seems that the Latin transliteration of debased Punic became popular. No doubt, with the arrival of the Romans, who extended their domination even in the hinterland of the Emporia, the Libyans came into greater contact with western civilization. Meanwhile the Roman policy aimed at the diffusion of the Latin language, which consequently became the official language in courts, assemblies and administrative correspondence and this fact is confirmed by S. Augustine, when he said that Rome who know how to govern peoples: she ^{not} only imposed her control, but also her language on the defeated people.⁴³ Julien concludes from the S. Augustine's evidence that a great number of Libyans were obliged to learn Latin in order to use it in their official transactions and to be able to participate in public life, while the majority of them spoke, amongst themselves, the Libyan language and for a certain time the Punic language. He added that in the interior the people did not know Latin for a long time.⁴⁴ But the use of Latin characters in latino-punic inscriptions probably indicates the diffusion of the latin in the hinterland of Tripolitania.⁴⁵ Latin authors made no mention of the Libyan language, perhaps because it was held in no esteem and certainly was not used on the coins, even by the native dynasties.⁴⁶ However, many epigraphic documents⁴⁷ of the language were found, especially in the territories of Cirta and Hippo and in various localities of Tripolitania. In spite of the wide diffusion of Latin, the Libyan language continued to be used in the country, and much more widely, in the territories beyond the Roman frontiers; because of its

strong vitality, it could not only survive for many years the events and disturbances which North Africa was subjected to, but it still exists today in the language of the Berbers (Libyans) of the western Gebel and Zawara in Tripolitania.⁴⁸

The municipalities and benefactors, without government interference competed with each other in opening schools and giving equal chance to the aristocratic African students [with the Romans] to be able to learn under a teacher's supervision (litterator or Primus Magister). Also the recruiting of the Libyans into the Roman army led to the diffusion of the Latin language and culture.⁴⁹ Though the schools of Lepcis Magna, Oea and Hadrumetum were famous in Roman North Africa, Carthage was the intellectual centre of North Africa.⁵¹ Apuleius praised the city as teacher of the province, the bride of Poetry and the greatest town in Africa, Camena of the Togati; all her citizens were most erudite and the friends of erudition. Also he addressed the Carthaginian audience and told them plainly that he had learned only rudiments in their city during six years of study there.⁵² Tertullian, the Christian writer and the closest in time to Apuleius, never left Carthage where he received his higher studies, and later he became ^a writer and orator; this may suggest that some significance could be attached to Carthage, which is not far from the Tripolitanian main centres, which were exposed to its cultural influence.⁵³ Moreover his writings provide valuable testimony for the education which he received and which was available to others before and after him.⁵⁴

Carthage was able to attract teachers from outside Africa: a Greek philosopher died there after coming from Crete.⁵⁵ Two centuries after Apuleius, S. Augustine's works made it clear that Carthage still maintained its academic excellence.⁵⁶ The high standard of education at

Carthage enabled Augustine to gain the position of Professor of Rhetoric at the Imperial Capital of Milan.

In any case the schools of Carthage outlasted Roman rule, and kept the high educational standard which they had for a long time, and produced an efflorescence of literature in Vandal Africa.⁵⁸

Other small Numidian towns like Madauros could provide young Apuleius or Augustine with enough teaching to prepare them for higher studies at the central university of Carthage.⁵⁹ Students used to learn different subjects such as literature, Latin composition and the principles of music, philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy.⁶⁰ The study of Vergil was one of the compulsory subjects,⁶¹ and students might be asked to recite in prose a part of Vergil's work. He was adulated, dissected and imitated; ignorance of him marked the uneducated man and was scorned.⁶²

The teachers were known for their harshness, and cruelty and S. Augustine explained this when he said "Who will not be afraid of getting back his childhood and not to prefer death if he is given the chance to do that."⁶³ Some students liked to specialize in specific domains like stenography, both Latin and Greek, to prepare themselves for entering the profession of clerk or secretary.⁶⁴ Also there were lessons in painting and singing in between the lessons to change the ordinary routine of recitation and grammar and to get rid of boredom.⁶⁵

Students who wanted to take legal studies to a higher standard, usually went to Rome or Carthage and this is exactly what the future Emperor Septimius, and his grandfather of the same name, did when they left for Rome to continue their studies, where teachers both of rhetoric and knowledge of law were already established.⁶⁶ Study could raise a man 'rure ortus atque indocto patre' to senior positions and

even to the Senate.⁶⁷

In harmony with the age, the African's emphasis is a technical mastery rather than originality. Learning and eloquence were inseparable. The rhetoric was the main concern, and unexceptional worthies will proclaim 'amator studiarum' or, 'doctissimus et facundissimus'. Apuleius would not deny the necessity of eloquence, to the study of which he devoted his life.⁶⁸ He gave lectures which were applauded by his audience who could repeat them from memory.⁶⁹ An eloquent Knight of Thibilis received a statue from his senatorial pupil, as a most faithful and beloved master.⁷⁰ Also one knight from Thamugadi was as fluent as he was good.⁷¹

It was preferable for one to learn different literary subjects to enable one to be eloquent and erudite. This is clear from Apuleius' speech to the Carthaginians when they were listening to him and applauding in the theatre.⁷² There were various applications for one's education, such as epistles, idylls, composition of dialogues, and fashioning of eclogues and verse. These are clearly demonstrated by an inscription from Thibilis.⁷³

During the second century A.D. poetry had flourished, and all the famous writers took part in fashioning verse, the advocate Severus, the rhetor Flavus, the philosopher Apuleius, even the Senator Q. Tullius Maximus "e Libya, rector legionis Hiberæ".⁷⁴

From an early period of the empire the Africans devoted themselves to the pursuit of oratory, and the prestige of rhetoric was very high; Africa was known as the 'foster mother of advocates' as the poet Juvenal described her.⁷⁵ The future emperor Septimius Severus native of Lepcis, declaimed in public at seventeen.⁷⁶ Statius

praised the 'vox habilis foro' and 'Non venale eloquim' of Septimius Severus the grandfather of the emperor, who was also a great orator and was also from the same town.⁷⁷ Another was Salvius Julianus the greatest lawyer of his epoch, who prepared for Hadrian a permanent code of law which remained in use for two centuries.⁷⁸ From Lepcis Magna was also Annaeus Cornutus, teacher of Lucanus and from Carthage, Sulpicius Apollinaris, teacher of Aulus Gellius and Pertinax. Cornutus was much respected by Persius who dedicated to him his fifth satire, and in A.D. 62 bequeathed a sum of money, which he refused, and his library. He was equally versed in Greek and Latin literature and wrote on Aristotle's logic (in Greek), and on rhetoric, the poetry of Virgil (in Latin).⁷⁹ Also he was the founder of a school of history at the time of Claudius and Nero.⁸⁰ Thus Lepcis Magna was not only an active centre of education, but also a breeding ground for great men.⁸¹ As the colonizing Roman policy had this characteristic of peaceful assimilation, the pre-existing institutions, the customs, the laws, the religion itself were respected.⁸² In this way the subjected people would harmonize their customs with those of the rulers, whose language they used willingly, they assimilated the culture and whatever else could help them to get closer to those who were considered to be participants of a civilization which was infinitely superior, and therefore underwent their profound influence.⁸³ Thus the majority of the people of North Africa adopted the way of life, the language and the religion of Rome by their association with her.⁸⁴

The first indication of the fusion between the two elements was, on the part of the Romans, the concession of Latin rights, which was followed by full citizenship.⁸⁵

Romanelli mentioned that if Roman education in Africa did not succeed in changing the tradition and way of life of the peoples who live near to Italy, it certainly did not succeed in Tripolitania which was

an agricultural region and lacked the civil centres which could be affected by intellectual movement and flourishing schools of science and philosophy which enlightened many of the African and Numidian cities.⁸⁶

Merighi said that it is affirmed that the Romanization of the African provinces was in relative terms, quite slow; and this is shown by the fact that after one and a half centuries of domination, in Leptis they used, even in official ^{Contexts}, the Punic language and it should not be believed that in Tripolitania the Graeco-Roman civilization had put down extensive and profound roots.⁸⁷ The same Leptis Magna after four centuries of Roman domination was called semi-barbarian by Jerome, and even now the nature of the barbarism for which the great polemicist of Stridon reproached Leptis is not understood. Yet it does not seem that his statement can be put forward as a valid argument for denying the efficacy of Romanisation in Tripolitania.⁸⁸

As far as we know from archaeological and literary evidence, Leptis was flowering and prosperous during the Roman period and especially in the Severan period, but what Jerome said about this city indicated that it was in a bad economic and social state in the fifth century, and this was probably due to the incursions of Libyan tribes, especially the two famous invasions by the Austurians; the first was in the year 363 A.D. and the second in the year 365 A.D. according to ^{the} narration of Ammianus Marcellinus.⁸⁹

We may conclude that the slowness of Romanization was due to the resistance of Libyan tribes and their insistence on keeping their traditions and ways of life. Therefore they continued consciously to separate themselves from the civilized world, also far from its cultural influences, and materially from countries of a similar civilization. Although the coastal areas and especially the zone of the three cities

(Leptis, Oea, Sabratha) was an attraction for the Libyan tribes beyond the Roman frontier, which had been reached merely by the echo of Roman civilization, they had kept intact their language and culture. Regarding those who lived within the Roman limes, though some of them were obliged to know Latin and participate in public activities,⁹⁰ their changeable nature did not delay in turning to their old customs.⁹¹

Although the physical evidence of Rome's presence generally in Africa and Tripolitania in particular is clear and abundant, even overwhelming, Romanization left less traces on the life of the country in later times.⁹²

The language is an obvious case in point: the vernacular of some Western European countries is developed out of Latin, but though Roman organization and the use of Latin remained till the Vandal period, they disappeared completely with Arab conquest without leaving any noticeable traces,⁹³ except a very few words in the Berber dialects, which are the descendants of Libyan vernacular.⁹⁴

Also the punic disappeared without trace, except a few placenames and some words which passed from punic into Libyan arabic. These include terms KRS - "to gain" (or: to make a profit),^{and} PRSM - "sack of dates".⁹⁵

In any case, although Punic lost its status as second official language in Tripolitania after the second century A.D., our studies of the latino-punic inscriptions from Tripolitania prove that a debased form of Neo-Punic continued to be used in the hinterland of this region.⁹⁶ The Neo-Punic disappeared gradually, leaving latin as the only official language in Tripolitania and in North Africa in general, while the Libyan (or Berber) language continued to be the language of the Libyan tribes beyond the Roman frontiers and probably some elements still survive in Berber dialects. Probably the same fate as befell the Punic language happened to the Arabic language in Spain, where although Arabic was the official language for seven centuries, it disappeared from the region which enjoyed it for up to eight centuries and the country people remained relatively

untouched, as has been mentioned before, and the successive changes of rulers which they have undergone - Punic, Roman, Vandal, Byzantine, Arab, Turkish and Italian - have left no permanent mark on the life, language and character. Only the ruins of the cities which remain to attest the ancient splendours of Roman Tripolitania in particular and Roman Africa in general.

As for the African contribution to the development of the Latin literature, it is worth mentioning here Apuleius, who produced his Apology during his residence in Tripolitania. It seems that the African style first made its appearance in the works of Fronto and reaches its full development in those of Apuleius of Madauros (a veteran colony in eastern Numidia). Apuleius was born about 125 B.C., the son of a decurion of the place. His fellow townsmen described him as "Philosophus platonicus" and called him "ornamentum ^usum" the pride of their city.⁹⁷ He got part of his education, especially in grammar and rhetoric, at Carthage and continued to acknowledge with gratitude his debt to the African university.⁹⁸

He finished his studies by a sojourn at the Greek cities then at Rome where he wrote his Metamorphoses.⁹⁹ He returned home by way of Oea (in Tripolitania) where by happy chance he was introduced to a wealthy widow named Aemilia Pudentilla. Although she was older than Apuleius, he married her and that aroused the suspicion of her relatives who accused Apuleius of obtaining her consent by magic. However the proconsul Claudius Maximus,¹⁰⁰ after having listened to the self-defence of the accused, which is known as the Apology, absolved him from every accusation.¹⁰¹ At the end he settled at Carthage as a professional rhetor and eventually as a sacerdos provinciae, or High Priest of the imperial cult, devoting

himself principally to the interpretation of Plato.¹⁰² Apuleius' Apology and Florida shed valuable light on African society in the Antonine age. The Apology was delivered at Sabratha (in Tripolitania) and it describes in detail its author's reception in nearby Oea and his dealings with various members of a wealthy family of the town. The Florida are disconnected series of purple passages were selected from speeches which Apuleius delivered in Carthage during the next decade.¹⁰³

The Apologia he delivered is one of the works that have survived and it is a brilliant and effective exhibition of erudition, designed to show up his opponents as uneducated rustics.¹⁰⁴ Most of our knowledge of his career is derived from the Apology, which reveals his personal history, his considerable knowledge of Greek and Latin authors and his acquaintance ^{with} Cicero.¹⁰⁵ Apuleius was one of that class of learned men whom the ancient world called Sophists, who have been described as "versatile, well-paid philosophers and lecturers".¹⁰⁶ His works covered different domains and they included oratory, religious philosophy and music.

The diction of Apuleius is plentiful, showing the greatest art, a magnetic style full of romance and an oriental warmth of colouring and vivid description.¹⁰⁷ His literary output, so far as it has survived, displayed considerable versatility, including different subjects. His masterpiece is the novel, usually known as the 'Golden ass' or Metamorphoses. It is based on a fantastic idea of a man being turned into an ass because of magic and his desperate efforts to recover his true shape. He continued like that until the great goddess Isis forgave him and returned him to his natural humanity. Therefore he became

one of her believers in Rome.¹⁰⁸ The story introduced plenty of opportunities for rousing adventures and rough foolery, but it is written in a continuously ingenious and imaginative style, and it tells us about the Roman folklore, religious rituals, magic . . . and all misgivings which dominated Roman multitude and the educated classes did not know much about that. He had studied the social conditions of the lowest classes of Roman society and put a complete incarnation of their beliefs and ideas. In Apuleius' novel there are two chapters which rise to high level. His exquisite version of the story of Cupid and Psyche, which is considered, infinitely, superior to its known predecessors. The other is the wonderful epiphany of the great goddess Isis which forms the climax of the work, and it was probably meant to be a type of allegory of redemption, and it is an expression of the author's own religious belief. The Metamorphoses contain a hostile and unmistakable allusion to Christianity.¹⁰⁹

The Metamorphoses are set in Greece and Rome, and as the work addresses itself to a Latin-speaking audience outside Rome,¹¹⁰ it was probably composed in Africa and for a Carthaginian audience there.¹¹¹ In any case the whole work is the finest of the Romances of the ancient world, and medieval alchemy and romance owe a lot to Apuleius' works.¹¹²

Augustine regarded Apuleius as a magician every bit as powerful as Apollonius of Tyre.¹¹³ Apuleius' reputation only grew with time until he became an important public figure in Carthage. As Lactantius observed "Cui solent et multa et mira memorari".¹¹⁴

Apuleius' influence on writers is noted. Tertullian is the closest in time and milieu to Apuleius, and his work included a lot of derivations from the Apology.¹¹⁵

In addition to the Libyan language, Punic and Latin, which were used in the region, there was the Greek language which was probably used as a spoken language in the coastal areas especially the active cities where the main sea ports (Lepcis, Oea, Sabratha). This comes from a hint mentioned by the Roman poet Silius Italicus, when he described the language of the women at Lepcis Magna and he said that they spoke Greek and Latin with a bad accent that seemed strange to the Roman.¹¹⁶ As a result of much Greek immigration the inhabitants set up a legend, which is reflected by the same poet, that the city was of Greek foundation.¹¹⁷ Oea like Lepcis, must have had a Greek population, which fact led Silius Italicus to call it a Cicilian colony.¹¹⁸ Herodotus¹¹⁹ mentioned that a Greek settlement was founded near to the mouth of the river Cinyps¹²⁰ (Kinyps) (now Wadi Caam) (520 B.C.). Three years later, however, the Carthaginians with the help of some Libyan tribes the (Macaë) were able to drive the Greek colonists into the sea. From the existence of this colony at Tripolitania and the fact that it is near to the Greek settlements at Cyrenaica we may infer that there was diffusion of Greek language and culture in Tripolitania. Toutain said that the spread of the Greek language in Tripolitania indicates the existence of a great number of Greeks in this region in comparison with other Roman African regions.¹²¹ Romanelli said that the region of Tripolitania, especially Lepcis Magna, achieved a superior education and civilization thanks to the Romans and he maintains that it was Greek immigrants with the indigenous people (Phoenicians and Libyans) and Roman immigrants, who founded Lepcis Magna, and he confirms this by the inscriptions written in three languages, separated or united, Greek, Latin and neo-Punic, and also

by the names which are recorded in literary or inscribed texts.¹²²
 It is really relevant to mention that the excavations have revealed a necropolis from the fourth century A.D. in which forty-four names were found, of which fifteen were Latin, twelve in Greek, eight Semitic and nine others whose origin is unknown.¹²³ Tripolitanian epigraphy provides, apart from an appreciable number of inscriptions in Greek, a certain quantity of Greek cognomina which were not borne by Greeks alone but also by the entirety of the Hellenised east.¹²⁴
 Amongst those who have become integrated into the Lepcitanian population was a group of the imperial freedmen whose names are found on inscriptions, one in Latin¹²⁵ and four in Greek¹²⁶ and dedicated to Serapis. These series of dedications which come from the same temple of Serapis must arise from a group of worshipers^P of Serapis who originated from the Hellenised east and lived in Lepcis.¹²⁷^L

We also come across evidence of other freedmen such as Narcissus, a second century architect, and his wife Aquilia Hedone,¹²⁸
 L. Tetius Meianthus and his wife Prima¹²⁹ and a few others.¹³⁰
 There are two categories of freedmen from the Greek east "intellectual" and "artist". Amongst the intellectuals, we find a doctor whose Greek origin is indicated by the cognomen Telamon;¹³¹ and indeed throughout the Roman West, medicine bore the traces of Greek influence. Use of Greek and the medical profession were so closely linked that the native doctor Bonacar Mocrasi¹³² who called himself Claudius and drew up his inscription¹³³ in Greek and neo-Punic and Latin, no doubt to suggest that he practised Greco-Roman medical science. From the old catholic cemetery of Homs, another inscription informs us about the Δηλέρχης or Λαέρχης who was an intellectual, on his epitaph, he himself celebrates his universal

Ἐν μαῖνι βόη
wisdom (παιδεία).¹³⁴

His origins are hard to establish for on his epitaph he mentions both Alexandria and Crete. However it could well be that he did come from Crete, given the administrative relations which unified the island of Minos with the African coast under the empire thanks to Cyrene.¹³⁵ Others like Timocrates¹³⁶ probably came from Cyrene and had himself established at Lepcis. This indicates that the cultural influence of Greek settlement at Cyrene on Tripolitania was great and was probably due to the nearness of these two regions. Also in the domain of art the Greek influence is clear, as we see from the grandiose plans for the embellishment of Severan Lepcis, which led to a large number of Greek workers settling in the town.¹³⁷ Epigraphical proof abounds. First

there are a whole series of inscriptions carved on blocks of marble found in the Severan forum and on the Severan basilica.¹³⁸

These inscriptions which vary in format, style, and depth, have this in common. They are in Greek characters and bear only one name, sometimes abridged, which is evidently the name of the workers who sculpted the capitals or bases of the columns on the site.¹³⁹

The analysis of Lepcitanian art suggests that the majority of marble workers, like the architects in charge of them, were doubtless from the east in general and Greece, Attica in particular.¹⁴⁰

Ward-Perkins, comparing contemporary Roman and Lepcitanian models, argues that Lepcitanian art "Represents the shock to a well-established classical tradition, of a collection of new, strange, and hardly assimilated ideas". Regarding the origin of these ideas; it seems that Lepcitanian art was inspired by late tendencies in Roman art, derived from the slow but inexorable impregnation of Greek art by eastern ideas which were directly derived from the oriental provinces and that Rome had nothing to do with that.¹⁴¹

Benabou has argued that this theory is dangerous because the style of Roman sculpture is hardly found in Lepcis, while Lepcitanian reliefs have no equivalent in Rome. He added that these observations are valid only for the Severan period.¹⁴²

This current of ideas was born within imperial art, through a commercial movement; the importing of marble (especially cipollino from Euboea and red and gray granite from Egypt) gave birth to a movement of men and ideas which were important in different ways. For the eastern artists and craftsmen who settled in Lepcis made a mark on the region's art and architecture which was to last, taking young native artists into their workshops whom they introduced to their techniques. Thus the vitality of Hellenism was able to be maintained and reinforced. Also in Oea until the second century, the youth of the good families would go and finish their studies in Athens, as did Sicinus Pontianus, Apuleius' friend; and some of them, such as Pontianus' brother, spoke Greek and had no, or almost no, knowledge of Latin.¹⁴³

Benabou believes that relations with Greece and the east were unbroken and he confirms this by 2 new inscriptions dedicated to Septimius Severus.¹⁴⁴

The first arising from the Dolichenum of Lepcis, is dedicated by T. Flavius Marinus, centurion of the III Augusta.¹⁴⁵

The cognomen Marinus suggests that he was from Syrian origin.¹⁴⁶

The second inscription¹⁴⁷ gives us Septimius Heraclitus, given by the town of Tyre the task

of erecting a statue to Geta in the Forum Vetus. As he was in Lepcis, very likely on business, it was to him that his compatriots made their request.¹⁴⁸

In the last years of the republic, the numbers of Greeks increased in North Africa for various reasons: first the overthrow of the Phoenicians who dominated these regions for a long time; and the influence of their civilization was strong throughout north Africa especially in the eastern parts (Tripolitania and Tunisia) and this is confirmed by the fact that all coins and official inscriptions bore Punic or neo-Punic characters.¹⁴⁹ Secondly the existence of a Greek community at Cirta, ^{and} the nearness of the Hellenic settlements in Cyrenaica.¹⁵⁰

The study of Greek in Africa was encouraged by the native kings; the philosopher King Micipsa attracted a number of Greek intellectuals to his capital Cirta which he 'fortified and built up beautifully' and enriched by the libraries of Carthage after the destruction of the City.¹⁵¹ Also the capital of Juba II became the Hellenic centre, and Greek came to be generally understood by the aristocracy and commercial classes.¹⁵²

From the beginning of the third century to the reconquest of Africa by Justinian, this language was declining, settlers were frequently ignorant veterans untouched by Hellenic culture, children were cared for not by Greek teachers, but by Africans from the interior and the Africans were not interested in the Greek pursuits of philosophy and poetry; furthermore, African trade was chiefly with Italy and little was done with the east. Therefore African literature came to owe little to Greek regions.¹⁵³ This language was taught in school by Grammatici, and it was considered one of the most difficult and unpopular subjects.¹⁵⁴ However, knowledge of the language could be gained by residence in Italy

or the east.¹⁵⁵

T. Kotula tried to discern the role of the Greek language in Africa of the second century. He thinks that the appearance, in the African epigraphy, of the mention of 'Utraque lingua eruditus' is the sign of a fact remarkable enough to be signalled and that at the end of the second century the Greek language had already started in Africa a decline which would increase until the fourth century.¹⁵⁶

St. Augustine was to deplore his lack of knowledge of Greek.¹⁵⁷

But the spread of Greek and Punic culture in the region, is confirmed by the evidence of the private use of both languages (rather than by their diffusion). In second century private letters were still sometimes written in Greek, such as the letter of Pudentilla, which she had sent to her son, and which was used by the opponents of Apuleius to accuse him of magic.

Apuleius pointed out that this letter is written in a perfect and correct Greek.¹⁵⁸

It confirms that Pudentilla was familiar with written and spoken Greek. The lawyer from Oea, Tannonius Pudens, who pleads against Apuleius, produced a letter in Greek from Apuleius to Pudentilla. Apuleius could prove that it was a fake, showing the mistakes in Greek with which it was written, and which he would have never made himself.¹⁵⁹

He enjoys underlining the gaps in the Greek culture of Tannonius Pudens: "I could have cited for you similar passages taken from Theocritus and others from Homer. . . ;

If I had not noticed that you had not been able to read a letter in Greek from Pudentilla. I will then cite only one poet, and a Latin poet".¹⁶⁰

Thus Apuleius could pretend that his audience was similarly proficient. He himself was most eloquent in either language, his prosecutor not eloquent at all.¹⁶¹

The truly

distinguished accomplishment was mastery of Greek, signalled by the phrase 'Utraque lingua eruditus', a sure sign of the influence of ^{Greek and} Roman rhetoric.¹⁶² The fact that Pontianus could cite a letter, written in Greek, in the forum of Oea, indicates that this language was known in Oea and this is confirmed by the Greek inscriptions found at this town and in the region of Tripolitania.¹⁶³

Pudentilla's sons Pontianus and Pudens had started the cycle of liberal studies in their mother's house. The two brothers, under the direction of Apuleius, gave themselves to their common studies.¹⁶⁴ Pudens used to go to gladiatorial school; he forgot the languages which he learnt.¹⁶⁵ Although he learnt Greek from his mother, he quite forgot Latin, and Punic was the only language he could speak fluently.¹⁶⁶ Thus we may conclude here with D'Escurac that the details of the Apology shows us that, in the second half of the second century Punic, if it had ceased to be cultural language, is spoken not only in the country, but also in the cities of Tripolitania and those around it.¹⁶⁷

Septimius Severus, a native of Lepcis Magna, was called by his biographer "Latinis Graecisque litteris . . . eruditissimus".¹⁶⁸ Other men from North Africa were marvellously learned in both languages (Latin and Greek). A Senator from Thamugadi (in Numidia) put Attic facundia on level with Roman nitor. A knight of Thibilis, an incomparable youth, was well learned in both tongues (Latin and Greek). A youth of Sitifis died at twenty-two, "Summarum artium liberalium studiis utriusq. lingua perfecte eruditus, optima facundia praeditus".¹⁶⁹

In this connection the Greek letters have a certain 'heaviness of style', a few Greek words were incorporated into the language of the early church, when equivalent Latin could not easily be found, but they assume awkward forms and the attempts made to incorporate them to the vocabulary of the vernacular indicate that Greek was unfamiliar to the bulk of African converts.¹⁷⁰ Finally the Greek works of Tertullian- on baptism of heretics, on shows and games, on veiling of virgins- were intended for Greek-speaking Christians of the African metropolis.¹⁷¹

In Lepcis Magna there are three trilingual epigraphs, in Latin, Punic and Greek¹⁷² and some in the Greek language. The Greek language¹⁷³ and in general Graeco-Hellenistic culture appears to have had a wide diffusion¹⁷⁴ in Tripolitania, as in the rest of North Africa.¹⁷⁵ Such a widespread knowledge of Greek in the whole of North Africa, and in particular in Tripolitania, nearer to the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, made it a true passageway, not only geographically, but also culturally, between the west and the east.¹⁷⁶

As regards the language in particular it was known in a special way in its highest form¹⁷⁷ not only to the erudites¹⁷⁸, and the dense colony of Greek immigrants contributed to its diffusion; ~~these~~, because of their activities, stayed in the cities, as traders and specialized workmen who flocked from Greece to the various cities, and specially to Lepcis, where love and fervour for works of art was always great.¹⁷⁹

It is relevant to mention that the Greek language appears beside Punic and Latin on the signs of a doctor¹⁸⁰ in Lepcis, and

this suggests the use of the Greek language not as a vernacular but also as a written language in Tripolitania. The Greek language probably began to decline in the third century, that is at the time when that deeper Roman penetration began to lead to a wider diffusion of Latin, from which other languages were gradually supplanted. At the time of S. Augustine it seems that not even the literary people knew Greek any longer.¹⁸¹

In any case multilingualism seemed the rule in Roman North Africa, Punic, Latin and Libyan co-existed without one gaining dominance over the other. Greek was marginal. However, for all that, their importance should not be underestimated. Anyway although Greek preceded Latin as the language of culture in Massinissa's epoch, it subsequently played the role of companion rather than rival. In this sense, the use of Greek could not be held to be a form of resistance to Latin.¹⁸²

APPENDICES

Appendix I: The Neo-punic inscription of Roman Tripolitania.

Appendix II: The Latino-Punic inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania.

APPENDIX I

Neo-Punic inscriptions of Tripolitania

The inscriptions discussed here are assigned Neo-Punic serial numbers, according to the system of numbering initiated by Levi della Vida in Libya (Rivista della Tripolitania) III, 1927, 91-116, and then continued in other periodicals. The complete series (up to Tripol. 35) is registered, with bibliographical references, in IRT pp.11-13, where the title "Tripolitanian" is replaced by "Neo-Punic".

Neo-Punic 1 - IRT 349a, Gesenius, Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae Monumenta etc., (1837) pp.213-17; Berger, Revue d'Assyriologie, II, (1889), 41-42; Romanelli, P., Lepcis Magna, (1925), 123; C.I.L., VIII, 7; G. Levi della Vida, Riv. del. Trip. 3 (1927) pp.92-93=IRT 349a.

Engraved on architrave block 0.67 x 0.53, surviving depth 0.23 of grey limestone with moulding top and bottom and socket of 16 cm.; found among the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus at Lepcis Magna.

One line of Neo-Punic follows the Latin text (IRT 349a)

.... Vespalsianⁱ f(ili) Do[mitian]

....] aug (?) sufe [(....

The minute size of the fragments that have been preserved prevent any restitution, approximate or otherwise of this inscription, which should have been of notable importance, especially for its public character. The height and clarity of the Latin letters correspond to the regular and elegant shape of Neo-Punic letters, which is a characteristic one will frequently see repeated in Tripolitanian inscriptions.

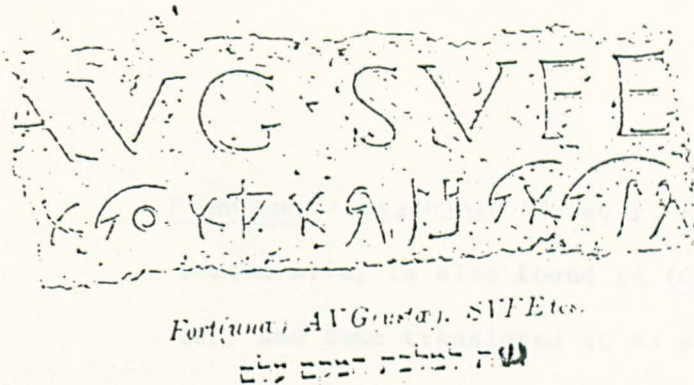


Figure 2. Berger's copy of the Neo-Punic inscription.

This inscription was first discussed by Gesenius who suggested the following translations:

רסח לבלכת רם קם-גלם

Dominium impērii Romani perstat in aeternum.

"Rule of the Romans stands for ever"

Berger reads and translates it as follows:

.....ti Reginae, praefecti sacrorum (n., filius N.....)

G. Levi della Vida says that he does not know how Berger translated

LMLKT ALEM to 'Reginae' and believes that the surviving text readsprovided] for the work of the Muqam elim[....

But I would translate this inscription as follows:

"This for the work of the sanctuary for the divine".

- שן = this (DISO, p.66; Poen. 931).
 לבלכת = For the work of (App.1, NP. 37⁶⁻⁷; DISO, p.151;
 cf. Poen. 931).
 הןן = Sanctuary (DISO, p.165; Poen. 930).
 אל = Divine (App.1, NP. 32²); in Arabic it means the
 god who knows everything. In other inscriptions
 it means eternity (cf. DISO, p.213, and it is
 written in variant shapes as ALONIM in

Poenuluus (vers.930). However, the title (Muqam Alim) is also found in (CIS 1227.260-262) and some translated it as equivalent of praetor sacrorum, praefectus sacrorum in Latin inscriptions (Cooke, NS, p.149); but here it means sanctuary for the divine.

Neo-Punic 2 (Leptis 2) Gesenius, op. cit., pp.217-19; M.A. Levy, Phönizische Studien II (1857), p.90; Berger P., op.cit., p.38; Riv.Trip., loc.cit., p.94, n.5.

This inscription was found at Lepcis Magna.

פעל מועקר הרעס
לקנאם ולאחיא
עיגא ולאשא
לכן אחר בר'את

העל מועקר הרעס
לקנאם ולאחיא
עיגא ולאשא
לכן אחר בר'את

It was first discussed by Gesenius whose interpretation was not accepted by those who followed him (Berger and della Vida). Berger translated it as follows:

1. (this monument) was made by Macer, the builder
2. for Knem and for (his life)
3.and for....

4. So as to be (blessed)

G. Levi della Vida translated this inscription as follows:

1. (This monument) made by Macer the R'S
2. for himself, for his brother
3. Aiga (?) and for Valens
4. to secure their future safety

Berger's translation is not satisfactory and the role of Valens in Della Vida's translation is not known. Perhaps $\omega\lambda\zeta$ is instead of a colloquial form of $\omega\lambda\zeta$ waladi, walaz $\omega\lambda\zeta$ 'his children' (see wldh CIS II 220¹; wld CIS II 209³; DISO, p.107). The word $\omega\lambda\zeta$ occurs again in Jol' (Cherchel 2) "Sanctuary of the divine) person, living among the alives Mikipzan, king of the Massilians..etc.). Berger suggests that KNOM is the Egyptian diety Hnum, but this is rejected because the opinion of Egyptologists is against the identification (G.A. Cooke, Text Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions=NSI, 1903, p.148). G.L. della Vida (Riv.Trip.III, 1927, 93-4) translated KNOM=himself (App.1, NP.2), he also translated as syriac: qnwm=person (Lib.III/II 3ff.; DISO 260). In Arabic QNUM means hypotasis, person of the trinity (Chris.).

However, I would translate this inscription as follows:

1. Macer the R^c [ethnic? a rank or office?] made (this monument
2. For himself and for his brother
3. Aiga and for his children
4. So as to be, afterwards, in good health

Neo-Punic 3 (Lept. 3) - Fresnel, Jour.Asiat., (1846) 2, 353-355; Levi della Vida, Riv. Trip., III, 95; M.A. Levy, Phoinizische Studien, II 91-93; El Mayar A.F., LS, 13 (1982) pp.49-50. This inscription, originally from Lepcis, was found on the terrace of the monastery of Barbarie at Tripoli.

The interpretation of this fragmentary inscription which consists of 3 lines seems impossible - a not too good copy of it by Fresnel (Jour. Asiat. 2 (1846) p.354) is all that is preserved.

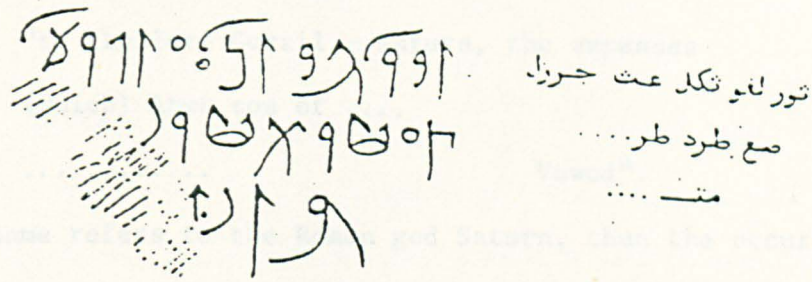


Figure . Fresnel's copy of Neo-Punic inscription.

It has been the subject of several philological studies. However, attempts to render the text in its entirety have been unsuccessful and a new study is well needed.

M.A. Levy's reading NDR (Nun, Dalet, Resh), for the first three letters still deserves consideration, even though the Neo-Punic forms of Dalet cited by Friedrich do not show a curved back.

The last four letters of the first line read Grzl and this suggests that this is the name of Libyan God Gurzil (see below). The letters preceding Gurzil could be read Kl at "at every time". (DISO, p.328)

As in nearly all the Punic inscriptions the "Nun" and the "taw" are not differentiated, there is a possibility that the transcriber omitted the Nun from the word Ladn and he just wrote taw which is the first letter from the word preceding Gurzil which could be tentatively tkla, which could be the construct from the Punic tklat "expenses". (DISO, p.328.).

G. Levi della Vida recognised the first four letters from the second line as Satur. If this is a reference to Saturn, the letters following Saturn maybe the name of the donor. The rest is hardly intelligible, thus the inscription could be tentatively translated as

follows:

"to the lord Gurzil - Saturn, the expenses
(which) Atur son of

.....

Vowed".

If the name refers to the Roman god Saturn, then the occurrence of the two gods in immediate succession would imply that the Libyan god Gurzil was equated with Saturn, the Roman God. The worship of the latter in Tripolitania is confirmed by archaeological evidence. The name of this god is recorded in a bilingual dedication to Ba'al - Saturn on a marble LABRUM from Sabratha (Neo-Punic 54):

Dom(i)no Sapurno (sic!) vico M (.....)no v(oto) s(uscepto) Iu(..)hn
(?)giaduris f(il)ius

ndr lbl . bs ntsty (y(Wnlhn (45) . bn 'g' dr ks dh'
't qlm

(The text from Libya Antiqu. 12, '1982, p.7-20).

Neo-Punic 4 - (Lept. 4) C.I.L., VIII, 15, I.R.T., 654=C.I.L. VIII, 15
IGRR, 1 and 938; Riv. Trip. III, 95.

Engraved on a grey limestone block (0.78 x 0.51 x 0.12). Inscribed on one face within a tabella ansata (0.40 x 0.26). One line of Neo-Punic follows the Greek and Latin texts. It was found at Lepcis in "the east part of the ruins" and is now in Tripoli Castle.

BONCAR MECRASI CLODIVS MEDICVS
ΒΩΝΧΑΡ ΜΕΧΡΑΣΙ ΚΛΩΔΙΟΣ ΙΑΤΡΟΣ.

בונקרה מטקרה קלודיוס הרבא

בונקרה מטקרה קלודיוס הרבא

The \aleph 117 it is mentioned in the trilingual NP. inscriptions 4 and 5 as a translation to Latin *medicus* and Greek *IATPOS*. It is derived from the racine RP (Hebr. *Rofe*)=physician (*Poen.v.1006*; cf. M.Szzyr, *op.cit.* 142 (Cf. *C.I.L.* VIII, 15; VII, 167; *DISO*, p.282 n.5.). It is also recorded in NP.14 and translated by Della Vida as physician (*Riv. Tripol. op. cit.*, p.107).

Neo-Punic 5 - (Lept. 5) *C.I.L.* VIII, 16 = *IRT*, 655 = *C.I.L.* VIII, 16; *Riv. Trip.*, III, 95; *Jour. Asiat.* VII, 1846, pp.565-69.

Engraved on a block of limestone found together with 4 Lept. - *IRT* 654 in the E part of the ruins, and has since been lost.

One line of Neo-Punic (the Punic text is a translation of the Latin and Greek) follows the Latin and Greek text.

BYRYCTH BALSILECHIS F MATER CLODI MEDICI
 BYPYXΘ ΒΑΛΣΙΑΛΗΧ ΘΥΓΑΘΗΡ ΜΗΤΗΡ ΚΛΩΔΙΟΥ ΙΑΤΡΟΥ
 ברכה בה בלשך אם קלעאשי הרבא

These inscriptions along with Greek-Punic inscriptions discovered in Tripolitania indicate the diffusion of Greek in this region, which was undoubtedly encouraged by the vicinity of Cyrenaica.

Neo-Punic 6 - Mathuiseaux, in *Nouv. Arch. Miss. Sc. Litt.* 11 (1903), 272; Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archeologie Orientale*, VII, 86-114; (*Repertoire d'epigraphie semitique*, no. 662); *Riv. Trip.* III, 96; Levi della Vida in *PBSR* XIX, 1951, 65-68; Goodchild, R.C., *Libyan Studies*, 1976, p.93.

The dedicatory inscription of the Ammonium is engraved on a single block of hard pink limestone (2.19 x 0.43 x 0.42 m). On the inscribed face the three lines of lettering lie within a slightly recessed die,

(1.93 x 0.31 m), and the larger letters are uniformly 7.5 cm high. The other faces of the block are well trimmed, but not finely tooled, and it is thought that the block was built into a structure, and was not in any sense free standing. G. Levi della Vida interpreted this inscription as follows:

1. לאדן לאמן מאס אלם ספער כת ומקדס בתאי ותוערפאת אס נאנא ואיקדס

2. בשת רב האחת רב כהנת בשד לובים לוקי עילי לעמיע יככף בן

3. שסידוועס בן ימרר אס בבא סעסוכסו . בתצאתם בתם

Translation: —

1. To the Lord Ammon, this (is) the statue of the beautiful god and the sanctuary of his temples and the porticoes*, which [were] built and dedicated
2. in the year of the proconsul (literally: chief under the chief of the army) over Africa (literally; the territory of the Libyans), Lucius Aelius Lamia, by ^T_N K S F son of
3. Shasidwasa ^t_n son of ^T_N amrar, who belongs to the Sons of Masinkaw, with their expenses in totality.

The famous inscription mentioning L. Aelius Lamia, was discovered in 1902 by Malthuiseaux and then rediscovered in Rasel-Haddagia in the territory of the Tarhuna by Aurigemma and Beguinot during the Italian archaeological mission in Libya in the Spring of 1911. It was later placed in Tripoli Museum by Aurigemma.

This inscription, despite the uncertain interpretation, is one of the most important Neo-Punic epigraphic monuments. Firstly, apart from the funeral inscription of Micipsa (Cherchell 2), it is the only Neo-

* variant spelling of 'porticos'

Punic inscription which can be reliably dated (A.D.15-17). It offers a splendid example of the level of perfection of indigenous epigraphic writing attained in Tripolitania, no doubt under Roman influence. The regularity of the letters, which are 7 cm high, and the symmetry of the lines are not present in any other inscription written in the Phoenician language.

Neo-Punic 7 - Aurigemma 5, in Notiz. Arch., II, (1916) 391ff; fig. 8;
IRT 246; Riv. Trip. III, 96-97.

On a fragment from the upper right hand corner of a rectangular base 0.50 x surviving height 0.47 x approx 0.50) of limestone, inscribed on one face, within a moulded panel, in Latin and Neo-Punic. Uniform with IRT 229. Found during the demolition of the fort of Faro (Tripoli).

This inscription is made up of the remnant of one name, a well-known Phoenician name "Abdmelqart" and was published together with the remaining fragment of a Latin inscription, IRT 246, which accompanies it. ... Aureliua] Epagri [f(ilius] d(e)p(ecunia) d(edit)

עבד מלקרת

Abd-Melqart

Neo-Punic 8 - Riv. Trip., II, p.158, 165-7; Romanelli, P., Lepcis Magna, 1925, p.26; Levi della Vida, Riv. Tripol., II (1927) p.27.

אבדמלקרת בן המעלה האלקי בעלה לזמיר
לאבדמלקרת

This inscription is taken from a transcript written by the French

traveller, Girard, at the end of the 17th century. It was published in the Riv. Tripol. II, p.158, 165-7; by Cumont and interpreted by Dussaud as follows:

Abd Malkart son of Hannobal the Uttican (was appointed by) the citizens of Wadi-Lepcis as "epimelete". Levi della Vida says that in its interpretation Dussaud used erudition and ingenuity and not all the results he arrived at seem acceptable. At the end della Vida translated it as follows:

1. (Abd)-melqart son of Hannibal, the...?
2. made it for sone.... ?
3. being still in his life.

However, I would read and translate it as follows:

Abd-melqart son of Hannobal the magistrate, chief of the notables of the valley and the custodian.

Comment

ה(ט)קרי : It could be a corrupt form of * הַפְקִיד = the magistrate (DISO, p.234 n).

אעל : It could mean chief (DISO, p.40; C.I.S. I, 122).

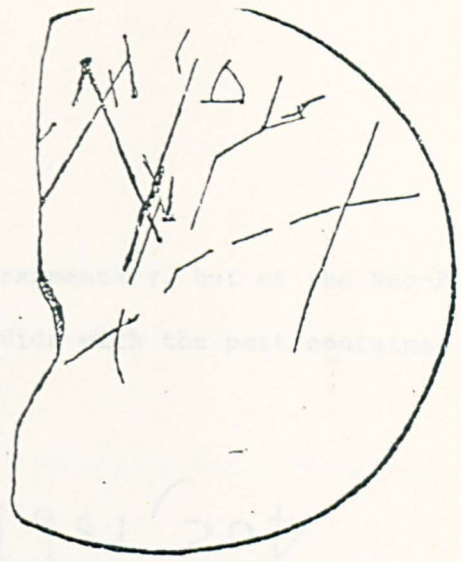
: It could be הַפְּסִיד = the first of, or notables (App.1, NP.32⁷).

עמיק : Valley, plain (App.1, NP.51⁴; DISO, p.217).

אפמלט : It could be אפמלט = Greek
= custodian (DISO, p.15).

Neo-Punic 9 - Romanelli, P., Not. Arch., III, p.103.

This inscription is crudely incised on the underside of a plate from Arello, reproduced by Romanelli in Not. Arch., III, p.103; Levi della Vida read this inscription: Aderbal. But we think it is



N 7 N

which means "glorification of the god" or thanks giving (DISO, p.6).

Neo-Punic 10 - Bartoccini, in Not. Arch. III, p.85 (fig.24).

An inscription consisting of a semi-circular line, running along the arch of a small shrine which bears the relief of a small boy, is conserved in the Homs Museum and reproduced by Bartoccini in Not. Arch. III 85 and fig. 24. The text is quite clear, but one reads it with some difficulty due to the worn condition of the stone.

הפיטלי בן בעליתן (בן) ... כע

^P_F YTLY son of Baalythan [son of] ... K C N.

The first name appears as a transcription from Latin, as it ends with ----lius, but it is difficult to reconcile it with any recognised form; the second one being a well-known Punic name; the third name is undoubtedly a Numidian one with the common ending ----can. The deceased comprised, in his own name as well as that of his father and grandfather, the three strata of races and civilizations which lived together in Tripolitania.

Neo-Punic 11 - Riv. Trip., III, (1927); Romanelli, P., Lepcis Magna, p.170; IRT, 481; SEG IX, 802.

A trilingual monumental inscription on 3 blocks of grey limestone, found in the late fort on Ras-el-Hammam, 4 km south east of Lepcis Magna.

Unfortunately not only are these texts fragmentary, but of the Neo-Punic text Romanelli could only provide della Vida with the part contained in the fragment No.3.

..202712170X99λx λX1991'>0p

"Caecilius, in time of the divine Augustus, the walls
for his temple .." See Latin and Greek texts in IRT 148.

One must note that the three texts correspond to each other in meaning but not in writing: in the Neo-Punic text the name of Caesar is replaced by that of Augustus, and only the walls (plural, whereas they are in the singular in Latin) and not the temple are dedicated to his name (perhaps due to some scruple over the national religion). This inscription is notable above all for its public character.

Neo-Punic 12 - The six benches inscription - Romanelli, P., Lepcis Magna, p.22, 12;

; Bartoccini, Terme, 78; Levi della Vida, Riv. Trip., III, 99; IRT, 599.

Six seats of limestone were found in the central hall of the Hadrianic baths; the fourth line was very much damaged, around 180 A.D. Also two limestone benches (dia. 0.80 x 0.07) with Latin inscriptions, were found in the same place.

The Latin (IRT 599)

a) Iuttaph Domitius Suf(es) s(ua)
p(ecunia f(aciendum)
c(uravit)

b) Aediles s(ua) p(ecunia) d(ederunt)

1.

העלאת שש המושבים אלא בשנת המושבים המדוברת שנתה יארס המורב המושב העליון

2.

באת השלש יחידות בשנת המושב העליון שנתה יארס המורב המושב העליון

3.

על המושב אס בנא בשנת המושב העליון שנתה יארס המורב המושב העליון

5.

ועל המושב קנודא בשנת המושב העליון שנתה יארס המורב המושב העליון

6.

העל בן המושב העליון שנתה יארס המורב המושב העליון

Its letters are at the most 6 cm high and are regular; now and again a tendency to divide the words shows through. Together with the Neo-Punic inscription, two Latin ones were found, but one cannot establish whether or not they are of the same date as the former or whether they bear any relation to it. Della Vida translated this inscription as follows:

1. These six seats were made in the year of the 'sufetes' - Abdmelqart TBHPY and Aris the Rab. Their manufacture (cost)
2. a total of 133 'denarii'; their manufacture (cost) 'denarii' 80 and ^TKNDRM 9 in relation to the fines (or contributions) that were put aside
3. under the MHZM who were in authority in that year and their manufacture (cost) 52 denarii, and
4. (missing part of another line?..... Two seats were made with the fines (or contributions) according to the estimate given
5. under the MHZM Candidus and Donatus; four of the seats were made with the fines (or contributions) according to the estimate given under the MHZM Idni-
6. -bal son of Hannibal S.d.sh.m.r. DYMN and Hanno son of Arisham Y.g.m.k

Levi della Vida translated the word BSD, in the second line, as 'da

parte' aside (Riv. Tripol., III, 1927, 103). But from this inscription we know that an amount of money collected as a revenue from the fines (or contributions) and kept somewhere? under the MUHZM supervision. The government's revenues are usually put in the treasury and this suggests that BSD means in the treasury. It also gives the meaning of fortune/wealth (DISO, p.242, n.17). $SDSHMRDYMN = SD + SHMR = \text{treasury} + \text{SHMR}$ which means guardian, keeper, observer and inspector (DISO, p.310). $DMN = \text{price, worth, value}$ (DISO, p.59). Therefore $SD SHMR DMN =$ treasurer who was responsible for price and marketing affairs (Cf. IRT p.79-80). YGMK: It could be derived from Greek gymnasiarque which means an important person responsible for public sports (DISO, p.51 n.21). No doubt the administration and maintenance of sports buildings in the city such as theatre, amphitheatre, circus and probably public baths where these benches were found. Although the MUHZM work jointly sometimes, they hold offices of different activities and specialities. Beside those offices $SDSHMRDMN$ and YGMK there were probably others for agriculture and irrigation, security and worship. The sufetes and MHZM of Lepcis Magna were elected annually by the people and no doubt were prominent and rich from the aristocracy of Lepcis. We are informed by inscriptions that some public building were paid for by leading citizens (market, 8 B.C. : IRT. 319; theatre, 1/2 A.D.: IRT. 322; second market (A.D.11/2): IRT.324). As a gesture of gratitude the people of Lepcis conferred honorary titles such as ORNATOR PATRIAE (IRT 318, 321) and AMATOR PATRIAE (347) (cf. IRT p.80). However, I would translate the lines 2, 6 as follows:

2. A total of 133 'denarii'; their manufacture (cost) 'denarii' 80 and 2½ as (=KNDRM9) (DISO, p.123 n.1,2) in relation to the fines (or contribution) that were available in the treasury.

6. -bal son of Hannibal the treasurer (or chancellor of exchequer) and

Hanno son of Arisham the responsible for public sports.

Della Vida, who treated this inscription concluded tentatively that these seats belong to the Antonine period and they were moved from their original place and re-used in the Hadrianic Baths during the restoration of the Severan period. But, as we mentioned above (Chap. VII), we still believe that these seats belong to the Hadrianic period.

Neo-Punic 13 - Romanelli, P., Lepcis Magna, pp.22-23, note 2; Riv. Trip., III, 105-107; Journal of Biblical Literature LXII (1944) p.4-5.

This is an inscription on a slate (0.53 x 0.39) with handles, and a moulded frame, which came from the vicinity of the amphitheatre in Lepcis Magna, and is now in the Homs Museum. The background of the inscription is 0.44 x 0.31 m. The letters are very clear, regular and easily distinguishable. Levi della Vida translated it as follows:

1 לאן לאל ק ארן בנא
2 אקוס ה בנמלרט מ ערמ סה
3 בנמלרט בנ קנמלרט
4 בנ הא בנ בנמלרט בנמלרט קלא בנא

1. To the lord, the god who owns the earth, constructed and
2. consecrated this exedra and portico
3. in ^NNSMTM Candidus son of Candidus
4. son of Hanno son of Bodmelqart, since he listened to his voice,
he blessed him.

The name of the dedicator, Candidus, the son of Candidus, naturally brings to mind the homonymous giver of water to Leptis (v. above No. 12) and since the exedra - (a portico in an open space with seats for people to linger and converse) - and the portico in question must have amounted

to quite a large sum, afforded only by a wealthy person, it is not improbable that it relates to the same person, or a member of his family. If in the Latin inscription he appears under a completely Roman name, here, in an act of religious character, he is revealed, through the names of his ancestors, to be of a pure Punic descent. As for the name of the divinity to whom it was dedicated, upon close examination it was realised that the inscription read 'the god who possessed the earth'; this Levi della Vida suggested different reading for the first word from the third line. First as $\square \text{ בת } \square \text{ שער } \square$ = probably with the doors (DISO, p. 315 no.19) or $\square \text{ את } \square \text{ בת } \square$ = totality, dignity (DISO p.323 n.13,21): But at the end he did not come to any conclusion regarding this point. However, upon close examination of the inscription I could read these letters as follows: $\square \text{ בת } \square \text{ את } \square$ = with their expenses in totality (DISO, p.333 n.12). Thus I would translate the third line of this inscription as follows: 'with their expenses in totality, Candidus son of Candidus'. This interpretation is supported by the authority of Dussaud.

Neo-Punic 14 - Romanelli, P., Lepcis Magna, p.23, (fig. 9).

אדרבאל הרופא

Aderbal, the Physician

Neo-Punic 15 - Romanelli, P., Lepcis Magna, pp.57-8; IRT S.12.

This inscription (or rather graffito) is on one of the columns of the mosque of Murad Agha in Tagiura. As is well-known, (cfr. Romanelli, pp.57-8), such columns most probably come from Leptis



זל זל זל
זל זל זל

Levi della Vida who studies this inscription suggested that the first line is probably a Latin name ending in .. anus and he translated the second line as "He did it completely". But it seems that the first letter from the first line \top dalet, the second is clear γ Ain, the third γ -Resh, the fourth could be \top taw. Thus the first word reads $\top\gamma\gamma\top$ = sanctuary (DISO, p.60 n.31; cf Cooke, p.153) the following letters $\aleph\gamma\gamma\gamma$ = for + face which could be for the face of bal= Tanit (DISO, p.229 n.46; for $\aleph\gamma\gamma\gamma$ = see CIS I 1125). The first word of the second line $\aleph\gamma\gamma\gamma$ he made it or it was made (NP.12; DISO, p.231 n.17). The last three letters $\square\top\gamma$ = completely or integrally (NP.12; DISO, p.329 n.9). Thus I would translate this inscription as follows:

1. This sanctuary for Tanit
2. made *completely*

Neo-Punic 16 - Romanelli, p., Lepcis Magna, pp.167-9 and fig.100.

Five unusually large letters, 12 cm high, were discovered by Aurigemma 'on one of the steps which precede the Roman arch' on the actual fort of Ras el-Mergheb in south-west of Leptis (Romanelli, pp.167-9 and fig. 100). Della Vida says that, unfortunately, the copy which Aurigemma took on 1 July 1912 and which he passed on to him does not seem to be accurate (fig. 11): he thinks that Aurigemma may have interpreted some breaks in the stone as being parts of the letters.

Neo-Punic 17 - See Appendix II, Lp.1

4 n q m r

Della Vida expressed the difficulty of this inscription and says that "Naturalmente non e il caso de ten[†]ere un interpretazione". But I think the first two letters read $\square \lambda$ = mother which is the title of Tanit 'LM LRBT FN BL (CIS I 380; DISO, p.16n 16). The following three letters read $\sqcap \psi \gamma$ = great (DISO, p.283 n.15). Thus I would translate this inscription as follows: the great mother (Tanit).

Neo-Punic 18 - Bartoccini, R., in Riv. Trip., I, 64-69, 281-295; Riv. Trip., III, 101-111.

This and the following inscription came from Sabratha (cf. Riv. Trip. I, 64-69, 281-295). The first inscription is engraved on the outside wall of a cistern made up of four rooms which 'is constructed in blocks between a large tunnel made underground which comes to the surface in open countryside' (Bartoccini). The letters are very big (the larger ones being more than 20 cm high and the first line being 1.32 m long) and has a singularly regular form. (Riv. Trip., III, pp.110-111).

π ο λ λ α χ η ρ α β ι χ η γ λ ο
χ ρ η γ α χ η ρ α β ι χ η γ λ ο

The inscription is translated thus:

1. The author of the works MTHQS the cutter.
 2. and he dug out the enclosures in KNYDYM (or with his own hands)
- 'enclosures' probably refers to the rooms of the cistern.

Neo-Punic 19 - Riv. Trip., III, p.111.

This inscription consists of incisions crudely made on the plaster of the walls of the temple (dedicated to Caelestis? cf. Bartoccini in Riv. Trip. I, 66), where Greek and Latin inscriptions and sketched figures can be found. Naturally, the interpretation of these inscriptions, owing to the way they are written, is difficult and uncertain: it seems to consist solely of people's names (see fig. 14 which is a copy and rubbing by Bartoccini).

D 520000 520000 1
 520000 2
 520000 3
 520000 4

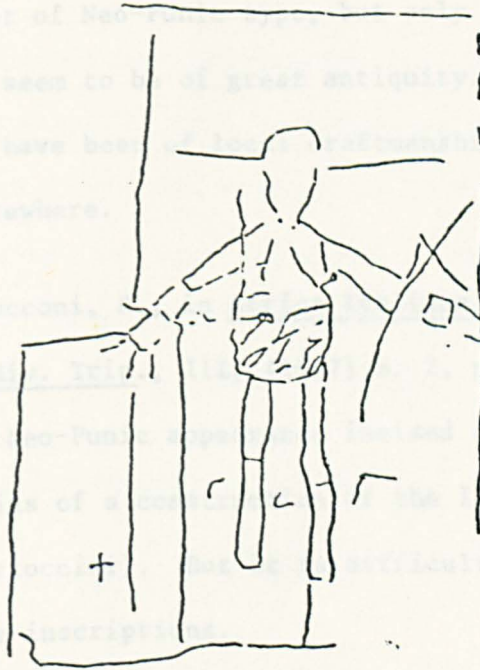
1. Punic name Muttunbal

2 & 3 - seem to consist of Numidian names, with the characteristic ending ----an. Other isolated Neo-Punic letters can be found in various points on the wall.

Neo-Punic 20 - Riv. Trip. III, 1927, p.111; Afr. Ital. I (1927) 223-25.

In the vicinity of Sabratha a large number of jars, on which inscriptions were imprinted, and others bearing the usual decorative motifs (symbol of Tanit between two horned heads etc...) were excavated by

77/11/19.



010X

77/11/19.

67/11/19. X
77/11/19
18/19. 4
18/19

A 77/11/19

probably a wrong spelling of the name

77/11/19 Ba'lellec

B 77/11/19

77/11/19

C 77/11/19

77/11/19
9

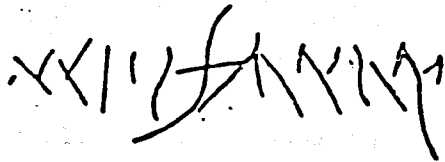
Name is made up of Ba'al?

Bartoccini. Bartoccini supplied a transcription of the letters; nevertheless, they are not of Neo-Punic type, but only of Punic and Phoenician type, some of which seem to be of great antiquity. It is thought that the jars could well not have been of local craftsmanship, but could have come from Carthage or elsewhere.

Neo-Punic 21 - Bartocconi, R., in Africa Italiana, I, (1927) p.217;

Levi della Vida in Riv. Trip., III, (1927) n. 2, p. 113.

Other signs of Neo-Punic appearance incised on a large tile, were found within the ruins of a construction of the II-III Century in Misurata Marina (Bartoccini). But it is difficult to draw any precise conclusions on these inscriptions.



Text from Afr. Ital. I, (1927) 217.

The first three signs could be $\gamma \eta \zeta$ = sacred (DISO, p.192 n.5); the rest could be $\pi \eta \psi$ = year --- .

Neo-Punic 22 - Libya, III (1927), 113.

These fragments were discovered and copied by Ernesto Testofochi, in September 1914 (See, Aurigemma, Not. Arch. I, 39). Levi della Vida studied them (Libya, III, 1927, 113) and concluded that the texts consist of many geneological series of exclusively Numidian names. Recently he published these inscriptions and assigned them numbers Tripol. 39 and 40 (Libya Antiqua, I, 1964, pp.58-66). (See below Neo-Punic 39; 40).

Neo-Punic 23 - G. Levi della Vida, Libya, III (1927), p.113-4 (ostraca texts, unpublished).

This report concerns numerous ostraca covered with Neo-Punic letters written in ink, discovered in 1914 by Aurigemma in a villa near Zliten. I have been unable to find these ostraca in the Museum of Tripoli and it seems that they have not yet been published. However, G. Levi della Vida, who examined a photograph of one of the "ostraca", said that the writing was very faded and impossible to read.

Neo-Punic 24 - See below Append. 2, LP.29

Neo-Punic 25 - See below Append. 2, LP.6.

Neo-Punic 26 - See below Append. 2, LP.2.

Neo-Punic 27 - Bilingual = IRT 319; Afr. Ital., VI, 1-15, 107-109.

Inscribed on two small blocks of limestone (33 x 45½ x 142½) found in forum of Lepcis 8 B.C.

Della Vida read and translated this inscription as follows:

1. כינכר קעיסר עוגסטס בן אלם רב כהנת פעמאת עמר ואחת ומינכר פעמאת

עמר וארבע ונתחנת מישלת עמר המישלם פעמאת עמר וחמש - אר....

2. זבחם להמינכר קעיסר אדנבעל בן ארש פיד י ועבדמלקרת בן חנבעל בעל

שלם הרש י שפטם כתן בן חנא בעל השחם ו....

3. חנבעל בן חמלכת טבחפי רופס שפט זבח אמדעזרם בן ארם....

1..The Emperor Augustus son of the divine, consul for the eleventh time emperor for the fourteenth time invested with the tribunician power for the fifteenth time. Id(nibal)...

2. and (made?) sacrifices for the emperor Caesar. Idnibal son of Aris Pylt (Pyln?) and 'Abdelmelqart son of Hannibal Lord of the selem

sacrifice of first fruits, (when the) sufets (were) Muttun son of Hanno maker of the plants and ...

3. Hannibal son of Himilco Tabahpi Rufus; when the judge of the
sacrifice (=flamer?) md'zrm son of Arim

Although della Vida's translation is generally acceptable I would like to add some notes here.

As the Latin version of this inscription follows the Neo-Punic word for word (IRT, 319), the last word missing from the second line could

be $\square \text{ } \overline{\text{JH}} \text{ } \overline{\text{JTX}}$ = pontifex maximus (IRT, p.12) = the head
of priests (IRT, p. 12). Also could be $\square \overline{\text{JFY}} \text{ } \overline{\text{JTX}}$ = praefectus
sacrorum (IRT, 319; cf. 321; 322; 323; DISO, p.6, n.4). The eighth

word from the third line Levi della Vida reads as אכמד עזרם and suggested that it is a Numidian name (Afr. Ital. VI, 1935, pp. 14, 15). But from close examination of this text it reads מדר עזרם and this is clear from the Latin version of this inscription where it is translated as praefectus sacrorum (IRT, 319; cf. DISO, p.6 n.4).

From the Latin version of this inscription and NP.30 (App.1), the last word missing from line three could be □□□ שׁוּב - he made it

at his expenses. The word השתתף (line 2) probably

describes the speciality and responsibility of the magistrate Muttn son of Hanno as the magistrae responsible for agriculture and this confirms what we mentioned before concerning the Punic administration in Lepcis Magna and the activities of the magistrates in this city (AAP.1, NP.12).

The use of Punic vocabulary to translate Latin terms is clear in this inscription:

MENOKAD : Imperator

RB MHNT : Council

THT RB MHNT : Proconsul (see App.1, NP.6).

MSHLT^{'SR}: MSHLT (or: MSHL) = administration and ^{'SR} = ten. Thus

MSHLT^{SR} = the administration of the ten tribunes of the people (cf.

ADR KOHENM = Pontifex Maximus (IRT, p.12).

ADR^CZRM : Praefectus sacrorum (DISO, p.6 n.4; IRT 319, 321, 347).

ZBH : Flamen (App. 1, NP. 30, 32; cf. DISO, p.71 n.46).

This inscription indicates that there were two flamines Augusti Caesaris as early as 8 B.C. (NP.27 = IRT 319). I would translate it as follows:

1. The emperor Augustus son of the divine, ~~Consul~~ for the eleventh time emperor for the fourteenth time invested with the tribunician power for the fifteenth time....[the head of the priests]
2. and offerer of sacrifices for the emperor Caesar. Idnibal son of Aris Pylt (or Fielon, IRT, p.12) and Abdmelqart son of Hannibal lord of the selem sacrifices of the first fruit. the Sufetes Muttu son of Hanno who is responsible for agriculture and
3. Hannibal son of Himilco Tabahpi Rufus; the Judge flamen and praefectus sacrorum son of Avim [made this at his expenses].

Neo-Punic 28 - Afr. Ital., VI, 15-27.

This inscription consists of three lines inscribed on a new limestone block of a total length of 4 metres of the door of a temple from the old forum in Lepcis Magna. Found in excavations in 1934. The first two lines are missing and the rest of the text is, however, distorted. It is dated 14-19 A.D.

"A recent survey of the building to which this inscription belonged suggests that the constituent blocks may require rearrangement, with a consequent rearrangement of the texts" (cf. IRT, p.12.).

I would follow Della Vida in translating this inscription as follows;

(23 lettere)

1
2 1
.... נסכאת? שאלם עוגם|| טם והרמא וטברי עוגסטם ויהליע עוגסטע וגרמעניקס ור||
5 4 3
ראסס קעניסר ועגריפינ|| וע אשת ש|| גרמעניקס ווליויע אשת ש|| דראסם וענטאניע
8 7 6
אום גר|| מעניקס ועגריפינע אום|| דראסם ומאסר הנסכת ש|| אלם עוגסטם וכסאת
10 9
שהנסכת לאלם|| עוגסטם

(19 lettere)

2 1
ו..... שהנסכת לאלם|| עוגסטם ומסויאת שהנסכת ש|| גרמעניקס ושראסס קעיס||
6 5 4 3
ור|| כלסאת לטברי עו|| גסטס וקעדרינע של|| גרמע|| ניזקס ולדראסס קועיסר|| ורלהת
8 7 6
שנחשת ומספן מחערפות|| ח|| צרת המקדש וערפאת נלקחא ב|| תצאת מקם נעתר
10 9
שפטם בעליתן בן|| חנא ג...|| סעטרנינא
3 4 3 2
ובדמלקרת|| בן בדמלקרת טבחפי|| ג... ריקלא

1. [This temple was built and consecrated with statues of the divine August]us and of Rome(?) and of Tiberius Augustus and of Julia Augusta and of Germanicus and of Dr[usus Caesar and of Agrippin]a wife of Germanicus and of Livia wife of [Drusus and of Antonia mother of Ger]manicus and of Agrippina mother of [Drusus. And the whole, the statue of] the Divine Augustus and the throne of the statue of the Divine]Augustus....
2. (and..... (about 20 letters) of the statue to the divine) Augustus and the coverings of the statues of [Germanicus and of Drusus Caesa(r and) the throne for Tiberius Augustus and the quadriga for (Germanicus and for Drusus C(aesar) and the bronze door and the ceiling of the portico of the courtyard of the

temple and the (other) porticoes were taken at (i.e. placed in front of?) the exterior of the remaining place, (at the time when) Balyathon son of Hanno G....Saturninus were sufets.

3. and Bodmelqart son of Bodmelqart Tabahpi Graeculus (?) (names of other magistrates perhaps follow).

Neo-Punic 29 - G. Levi della Vida, Afr. Ital., VI, 27-9.

From a colonnaded street leading to the sea port of Lepcis Magna.

1. יתנבעל בן אריס טבחפי
2. סעבינא טינא לאחת
3. אמס אריסת בת יתנבעל
4. הכנא סכר ככר על
5. פעלת מעשרת

I would follow Dell Vida, translating it as follows:

1. Yatonba'al son of Ariš Tabahpi
2. Sabinus erected (this) for the sister of
3. his [lit. their] mother, Arisat daughter of Yatonba'al
4. the builder, in memory of honour for
5. a beneficial action

Neo-Punic 30 - G. Levi della Vida, Afr. Ital. (1935) 104-7 = IRT. 321

It consists of only two Punic lines and is a translation of a Latin text of four lines inscribed on a grey limestone block (0.82 x 3.16) dated 2nd Century B.C.

1. חנבעל כייטקל ארץ כחב דעת התכת זכח שפט אדר
2. עזרם בן חכלכת טבחפי ראפס בן ארם בתם פעל ואיקרש

I would follow Della Vida translating this inscription as follows:

1. Hannibal, who adorned (his) country, who loved concord (Latin concordia), flamen and chief of
2. the holy courts, son of Himilco Tabahpi Rufus son of Arim, made and dedicated (this) in integrity (i.e. at his own expense). But from other inscriptions it seems to me the proper translation for ADRPZRM is Praefectus sacrorum instead of holy court (IRT, 319, 321, 322, 323; cf. DISO, p.6 n.4).

Neo-Punic 31 - Bilingual; Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, IV, 400-404 = IRT 338.

From old forum, Lepcis Magna, dated to A.D. 53.

1. נעמי בן חנא למבשם נעמי בן בן כסעקר תסדום ר
2. תהמקאם קין ותהמחז רבד למבמלכתם בחם בעליתן
3. קבדא אש עלא בבן מאת כעקר בן נעמי בכתבת דבא
4. הבת שנעמי בן חנא כעם לפעל וחתם

I would follow DellaVida in translating this inscription as follows:

1. Gaius son of Hanno, in the name of Gaius son of the son of Macer, the columns and
2. the surface he covered (or gave?) and he paved the forum according to their work in integrity (i.e. at his own expense) Ba'alyathon
3. Commodus who entered (i.e. was adopted) as son of Macer son of Gaius through the writings of the affairs
4. of the family (i.e. through the will) of Gaius son of Hanno, took care of the work and finished it.

Neo-Punic 32 - G. Levi della Vida. Bilingual; Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, IV, 404-406 = IRT 318^c; 347. From the theatre at Lepcis Magna, dated to A.D. 92.

1. בן טיבריוס קלאודיוס ססטיוס
2. אדר עזרס. זוכה לאלם
3. ואספעסיענא ספ[ט]
4. זוכה לכלל חסות מלך ארץ כד
5. חב בנא עם מישקל ארץ
6. מלס[ט]לך בנא עם חב דעת ותבת
7. אש לפני אדרא אלפקי ועם אלפקני
8. לפי מאסא אבתי ומאסא בן
9. יתנא לעבד בצפאת כל חסות
10. מזבח ופאדי
11. פעל למבטלכתם בתם

I would translate this inscription as follows:

1. The son of Tiberius C[laudius Sestius],
2. chief over the holy courts, a f[lamen (lit. sacrificer) unto the
divine]
3. Vespasian, a sufet
4. a flamen at ev[ery] time (Latin perpetuus)], who loved (his) country,
who
5. loved (his) people, who adorned (his) land,
6. who supported (his) people, who loved the
knowledge (?) of integrity (?),
7. the first whom the chiefs of Lepcis and the people of Lepcis -
8. in return for the works of his fathers and the works of his family
9. allowed to use the overlay (Latin: latus clavus) all the time,
10. the altar and the podium
11. he made according to their work, in integrity (i.e. at his own
expense).

1. אֲדָרָא : Praefectus sacrorum)App. 1, NP. 27.30¹;
 cf. DISO, p.6 n.4).
2. בִּבְלָא : Flamen (App. 1 NP.27², 30¹; DISO, p.71 n.44).
2. לִילִי : ל + לִילִי = for + the divine (App.1, NP.
 1; G. Levi della Vida, Rend. Acc.⁸ IV, 1949,
 p.504).
3. שִׁפְטָא : Sufete (NP.12¹, 30; Latin sing. sufes = CIL
 V 4918⁴, 4920⁴; cf. DISO, p.316 n.15)
4. לִכְלָא : ל + לִכְלָא = for + all and it finds its
 explanation in Poenulus CHHYL = kl (v.935)
 (G. Levi della Vida, Loc. cit.; cf. DISO,
 pp.118-19).
4. חַעֲתָא : חַעֲתָא = time (DIS, p.224 n.15)
4. מַחְבָּא : = lover, the same word in Arabic.
- אַרְצָא : land, country (NP.13¹; DISO, p.25).
5. בְּנֵי אֲמִי : = sons of אֲמִי בְּנֵי אֲמִי = his people;
 עַם אֲלִפְקִי = people of Tyr (DISO, p.216)
 עַם תֵּלֶסֶס = the people of Lepcis.
5. מִישְׁקָא : Ornator Patriae (NP. 30; DISO, p.150 n.10).
6. מִשְׁלָא : Levi della Vida translated it as participant
 (Rend. Acc. IV, 1949, p.406) and it gives
 the same meaning if we suppose interchange
 between /l/ and /r/, and comparing
 Arb. MUŠARIK BANI AMMIHI who supports,
 participates with his tribe.
6. דַּעֲתָא : The knowledge (APP. 1, NP. 30¹.)
6. הַתְמָלָא : Integrity (DISO, p.329 n.9).

7. ו א : relative pronoun, in a nominative case
 (Della Vida, Rend. Acc., loc. cit.)..
8. פני : the first (DISO, p.139 n.10).
- 7 אדא : great (or : nobles) of Lepcis (Levi della
 אפקי Vida, Rend. Acc., op. cit., p.406; cf. CIS
 I, 165¹⁸).
- 8 אסאכ : = Latin MERITA(IRT. 318c; 347). Levi della
 Vida corresponds it to Hebrew. (Loc.cit.;
 DISO, p.163 n.10).
- 8 - ב : Della Vida, depending, on the Latin version
 translate it as IPSIUS = himself. But the
 word BT = family in Punic language (NP.31).
9. אנת : to allow, (or: to give) (See DISO. p.113
 n.19).
9. דב : to use (Della Vida, Rend. Acc. op. cit.,
 p.406); DISO, pp.198-99);
9. בצפא : latus clavus = Latin version (IRT. 318s).
9. כל חעת : ל = all, every + ע =
 time (DISO, p.224.15).
- As for □ Levi della Vida says
that it is used in Neo-Punic inscriptions
to serve the purpose of filling up blank
space (Rend.Acc., op.cit., p.405).

Neo-Punic 33 - Rend. Acc. Linc⁸, IV, 407; Libya III (1927), pp.99-115;
R. Bartoccini, Le Terme di Lepcis, 1929; Afric. Ital., IV, p.78, 181-186.

This inscription is a fragment engraved on the fascia of a bench in
road of victory at Lepcis Magna. The size of the letters are 38.5 height
x 25.9 cm. According to Goodchild's observations the bench is similar

to those in the Antonine baths (Neop. 13, See Libya, III, (1927) pp.99-115; R. Bartoccini, Le Terme di Lepcis, 1929; Afric. Ital., IV, p.78, 181-186).

The third letter of this inscription is damaged in the lower part and the last one in the upper and lower part.

...סעבניא טבאחפי...

Sabinus Tabahpi-----

With every probability this inscription is identical with "Yatonba'al son of Aris Sabinus Tabahpi (Itymbal Arinis filius Sabinus Tapapius)".

This figure is in the inscription (Neo. 29 and a Latin inscription in (Afri. Ital., IV, 28), which carried the title flamen. The family of Tabahpi was eminent in Lepcis, since some of its members appear in various inscriptions relating to public functions (Neop. 12, 27, 283, 302).

Neo-Punic 34 - Levi della Vida, Rend. Acc. Linc⁸., IV, 407-410.

Found near Mount Ras Cohla, 15 km from Homs.

1. לבתנבזל עו...לא בן מסלם
2. קבער זאנא לא סכר דרא לאולם
3. לאב חרא ס(ע)זנח סמן סס נפס בח

I would follow Della Vida in translating it as follows:

1. To Muttunba'al.....son of MSLM
2. Tomb erected as an eternal memory by his family
3. to the father. He lived 86 years. Soul (or monument) of a deceased.

Neo-Punic 35 - G. Levi della Vida, Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, IV, 411-2.

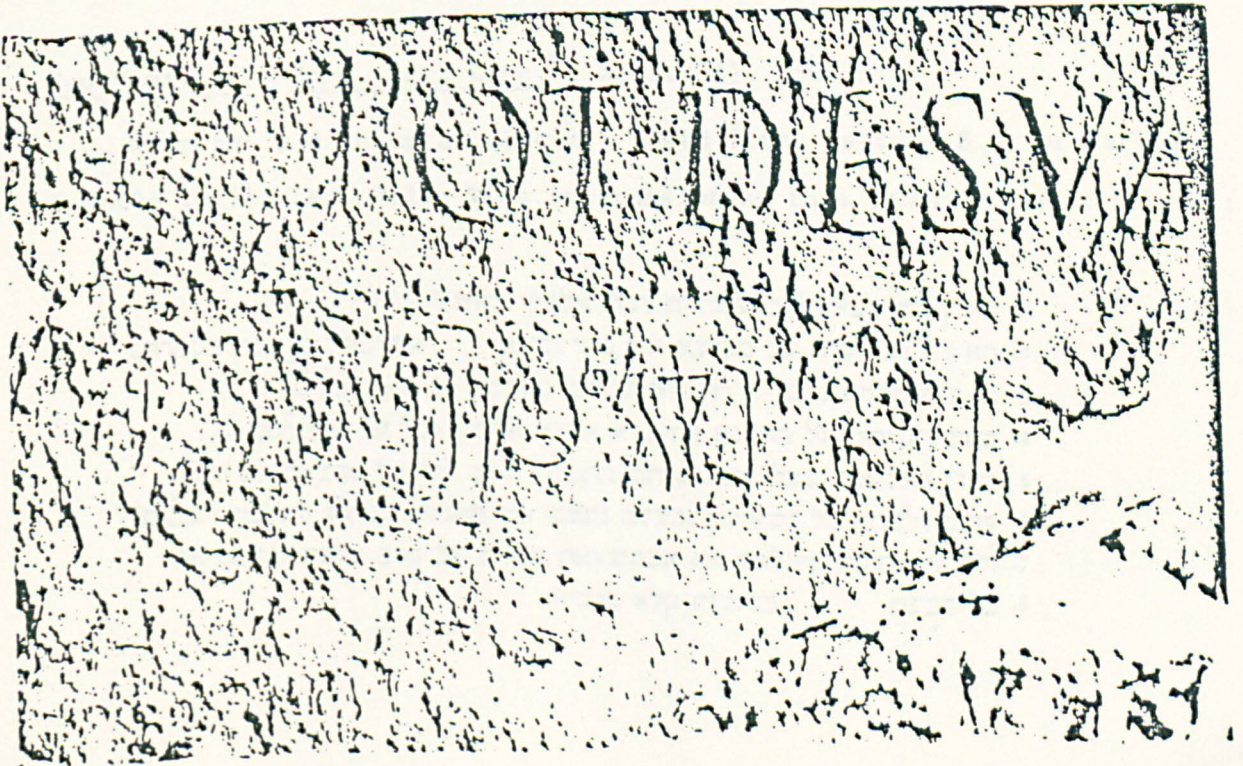
From an unlocalised area of Sabratha.

...אש אדחת על פעניע ותחלתאם אש על התחם בעלשלך ענין אש בעם אלפסי

(Made....and repaired....) which had been built in front of it
(or first) and the courts? on the entrance? (or: and the cornice
above the relief?) Ba'alsillek 'GYZ who belongs to the people of Lepcis.

Neo-Punic 36 - IRT 305; J.R. Fevrier in Revue des etudes anciennes,
LV (1953) 385-56, 60; G. Levi della Vida, ibid., p.359.

This is a short text in Neo-Punic, the right side of which is not complete. This inscription seems to be a copy of the Latin prototype of which almost half is missing. The letters are clearly inserted, especially bet, dalet and resh, but does not prove anything regarding its date. The letters lamed, the waw and samek are probably more developed than in any other Neo-Punic inscription, and they can be dated to the second half of the first century A.D.



Lat. IRT. 305: Neptu [no]

Aug (usto) Sossius[--c.s...]

nus IIII u[ir---

Pot(estate) de suo [pecunio posuit]

...] YDLS] QWTRBR LMB[S]PH(?) BTM

The P of the third word and m in the fourth word cannot be certainly read. J.G. Février proposed the following translation '..... aedile, quattuoruir, by his generosity (?), at his expense'. But Levi della Vida (*ibid.* p.359) did not agree with Febrier about the translation of the word BTM as 'generosity' and he translated it as "with the family". There is no doubt, however, about the word YDLS. The word QWTRBR is a transliteration of the Latin word 'quattuorvir'.

In a general way, the inhabitants of Lepcis Magna started to transliterate the names of their magistrates into Punic. No doubt these names are clumsily translated. It is worth noting that in North Africa the Latin V was always pronounced B: Flabius for Flavius. In any case it seems that Febrier's translation is more acceptable.

Neo-Punic 37 - Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, X, (1955), 550-561.

From the old forum at Lepcis. Dated first century B.C. or earlier. I would follow Levi Della Vida in translating this inscription as follows:

1. לאדן לסדרפא ולמלכעסתר רבת אלפקי טאט ? ? ? (?) [.....]
2. הא דל הכתרת. על באטנא אט נדר וטינא אדרבעל בן (בדטלקרת)
3. בן בדעסתר נפקד ברוח חיר טפס באלפקי ארט ובדטלקרת בן...
4. כאט הנחטה על טאכנא איהנדא אדרא אלפקי וכל עם אל(ל)פוקי....
5. לאדן האל אדר בעל את משהם בתכלת טקם לפי כל ערכאם לא ? ה'..
6. עלנם ולמחת כל נסאיענן ובצעם נעטם את טאנשא ונצע לפלכת הטק[ם]
7. ולמחת בביפא איבלאם את אבתם ואת תארם על ערב מלכת הטקס את
8. כל הבעת כטמא קלא ברכיא

1. To the lord Shadrufe and to Malk-'Ashtart patroness of Lepcis this (??) statue...
2. with the capital on its base which vowed Addirba'al son of K(abodmelqart(?))
3. son of Bod'astart. It was commissioned in the month of Iyyar when Arish and Bodmelqa(rt son of...) were suffetes at Lepcis....
4. the statue of bronze on its base. The nobles of Lepcis and all the people of (Le)p(cis) decided(?) [to give]
5. to the lord of the great god B'al their payments for the cost(?) of the sanctuary according to their valuation....
6. in addition to them; and to discharge all the payments and the good earnings (?) with that which has been paid (?)
7. and to pay out (?) to embellish (?) only (?) the houses (?) and their surroundings (?), as a guarantee for the work of the sanctuary with
8. all the cost. Because they have listened to his voice they have blessed him.

THE NEO-PUNIC INSCRIPTIONS OF WADI EL-AMUD (Neop. 38, 39, 40)

Neo-Punic 38 - G. Levi della Vida, Libya Antiqua, 1, (1964), pp.57-60.

The location of this inscription (Tomb A) and the circumstances of its discovery are referred to by Mrs Brogan as follows: The block on which it is engraved should have been positioned above the architrave of mausoleum A, and in fact it refers to the people buried there. The size of the table prepared for the inscription is 39 x 29 cm. Of the six lines engraved upon it, in the first, the letters are quite large, 5.5 cm. and in the remaining five lines they are 3.5 cm. The writing is regular and clear and is of a quality slightly inferior to that of

the best examples of the 'monumental neo-punico' of Leptis and of the inscription of the sanctuary in Ras el-Haddagia (Tripol. 6). The only peculiarities worth noting are the shapes of the 'het', whose middle and left lines are joined, whereas normally they are separated and that of the 'kaf' whose main lines, which normally joins onto the small stroke at the bottom, joins it two-thirds up the length of the letter. As in nearly all the Neo-Punic inscriptions, the 'nun' and the 'taw' are not differentiated. Like to the majority of Neo-Punic Tripolitanian inscriptions which can be dated, this one also (and the same goes for numbers two and three) is placed in the first century A.D., probably in the latter half of that century. This dating is confirmed by that of the pottery discovered in the site. The writing is continuous - only the first word of the first line is separated from the second by a blank space. (Tav. XXXIV a).

(Photo, Libya Antiqua I, 1964)

1. [ק]באר מקנאת אתמא אש פעלם
2. מעצוקן לאביא יטרר בן נעשים
3. המצלי ולאמם זוט בת נעצירן ה'גלבי
4. ולאבני ולאשתי עסליעת בת י'כדעסן בן
5. ציור ה'גלבי חס לארכתנם נפלע בחצתי בני
6. בחיתנ'ם ובחית בנאם ארשם ואיארן

G. Levi della Vida translated this inscription as follows:

1. "(Se)pulchre, absolute property, which was built
2. by Masa(wka)n for his father Y mr r son of Gatyt
3. the M.S.ly. and his mother Zut daughter of Gatidan (or Ganidan)
the T.G.I.bi. (or N.g.I.bi.)
4. and for his son and his wife Asliyat (or Asliyan) daughter of Yank.

dasan (or Yatk.dasan) the son of

5. Siyuk Taglbi his own expense, constructed

6. during their (corr. his) life time and during the life time of
his sons Arisam and l'osd n."

G. Levi della Vida translated this inscription made restorations
for the fifth line, and I would translate it as follows:

5. Siyuk Al-Taghlabi (this) statue for the goddess Tanit, on the occasion
and at his expense, was constructed

6 during their lifetime and during the life of his sons Arisam and
Oyusdon.

Comment

צ"י = a name
התגלבי = Al-Taghlabi a name of a tribe in North Africa,
and there are other tribes in Iraq, Saudi and
Jordan carrying the same name.

שן = This word posed a problem here and the difficulty
came from the error made by the transcriber who
wrote שן instead of ש and Della Vida
noticed the peculiarity of this alphabet [שן]
though he could not translate this word which
should be שן = statue. (MS: CIS, I, 3777¹;
MS: NP. 6¹; 37⁴; cf: DISO, p.168 n.41).

שןאבבן = שןאבבן + שן
שןאבבן = for the goddess Tanit (CIS I, 180¹,
181¹, 642¹) also שןאבבן (CIS I 2992):
as a plural שןאבבן = our goddess Tanit
= (CIS I 1116¹, 2848¹; RES 7cf. DISO, pp.270-71).
Thus שןאבבן = for our goddess Tanit and

𐤊 is added to indicate the plural as a confirmation for the NUN which is here a plural possessive pronoun. The title 𐤊𐤓) usually goes to Tanit if it is not mentioned with other goddesses.

𐤊𐤓 = to build, to construct (DISO, p.38).

Neo-Punic 39 - Libya Antiqua, I (1964), pp. 60-62.

Mrs Brogan indicates the location (Tomb B) and refers to the circumstances of the discovery of this inscription and of inscription number three, which also comes from the same monument. Both of them were at first studied and copied by Ernesto Testafochi, head of the Italian expedition, in September 1914 (v. Libya III, 113 no.22). This inscription consists of three lines engraved on a block of calcereous rock which measures 79 x 37 cm and 38 cm high, inside a tablet with handles, which is 28 cm high; the width cannot be determined precisely as the left side of the block has been broken off, losing 3-4 letters in the first line, 1-2 letters in the second line, whereas no letters seem to be missing in the last line, the width of the tablet, therefore, measures 52 cm, the original width of which could not have been any greater. The size of the letters are around 5-6 cm. The writing is well-shaped and regular, and even though it does not have the same elegance of the first inscription, it is not far behind, and it seems to be its contemporary. The text is written in continuation, yet in the second line (perhaps also in the third line?) one notices a blank space between the first and second word. Apart from the break on the left, the stone shows a large amount of splintering between the second

1. נִסְעֵלָא הַמְנַצֵּבֶת שָׂא
2. [לני]ברען בן מעשוכנעשען
3. [בן...] וְלֵאָה אִשׁ רֹלֶם וּבִירָא... יָהִים
4. [...] מַלְשֵׁמָא נִמְרָנָא בִּן שְׁנָאָת
5. [...] רַחֲמֵי רַחֲמֵי בְנֵי עֲשֵׂי־לֵבָל בֶּן אֶרֶסָם בֶּן בִּדְעִשְׁתָּרָת

I would follow Della Vida in translating this inscription as follows:

1. This stele is set up for [NI]
2. Mran, son of Masukkasan
3. [son of ---] Wⁿ_t, who ----
4. [----]? his name (?) (is) Nimran, in, during the years
5. [--- and three] Constructed S.P. ⁿ_t P.I. son of [---e] Arisam son of Bod Astart

Neo-Punic 41 - Levi della Vida, Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, XVIII (1963), p.464 ff.

Engraved on a block of travertine (0.50/0 52 x 0.97 m) of the type used in the first half of the first century A.D. It was inscribed on the Northeast corner of the wall of Lepcis in zone V. This inscription consists of 2 lines. Della Vida read and translated as follows:

1. [...] מִהַבְנָא אִשׁ אִיבָא הַחֲפֵסִים לְהַבְתֵּסָתָא אִשׁ בְּנֵי לִידָן...
2. [...] חַמְלִקַּת דְּרִידֵס צִבְחָא חָנָא אִשׁ בְּעָם אֶלְפִקִּי

1. From the builder who brought the base to the house which in the island in Lid [...]
2. Hamilkat Drides the descendant of Hanno who is among the people of [Lepcis.]

Neo-Punic 42 - Levi Della Vida, Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, XVIII, 1963, pp.468-9.

This inscriptions is written on a bone ladle (length 20.7 x 1.45 x 0.45 cm). A Neo-Punic inscription consisting of three words is engraved on its right side, and a Latin inscription of one word on its left side. The height of the Neo-Punic letters is 0.3-0.7 cm. and the height of the Latin letters is 0.4-0.7.

Diodorv

מתנבאל בן סדיק

Muttunba'al son of Sadiq

Muttunba'al is a man's name common in Punic territory both in encoria writing as well as in Latin transcript where it is written Mutumbal, Mut(t)humbal, Mitthumbal, Mythhumbal, (Mythunibal, IRT 754; *NP* 19 and *MLVLβφ*) Inscr. Lat. d'Algérie, II, 824, are probably women's names); Diodoru(s) (the name is attested in the Latin epigraphy of Tripolitania, IRT 116, 243, it is borne by a Punic person in IRT, 745 and it appears in a trilingual inscription in IRT 481) is the sufficiently accurate Greek translation: Della Vida who studied this inscription says that the "interpretatio Romana" of the Ba'al of North Africa is Saturn and it is most probable that (as was discovered long ago) Saturnius, which frequently appears in the inscriptions is translated as Muttunba'al (and also Ba'alyaton [Lat. Baliat(h)on, Balit(h)on, Baliat(h)o, Baliahaton) and Yatonba'al [Ithymbal]), whereas it is probably that the not so common Donatus is a translation of one of the other Punic names or of all those containing the verb "dare" - to give. There exists some indication of an "interpretatio" of Ba'al as Iupiter (v. Gilbert Charles Picard, Les religions de l'Afrique Antique, Paris. Also in Tripolitania as in North Africa the recent discoveries

revealed that the "interpretatio Romana" of the Ba'al is Saturn (Neo-Punic 54) and the name MUTTONBA'AL consisted of two parts MUTTUN which derived from YATAN to give and Ba'al and it is the same word in Arabic YATI his MUTTUNBA'AL means (given by Ba'al) just as Diodorus means given by Zeus, as Della Vida suggested. In Arabic there is the name ATIAT ALLAH (given by Allah). AS for SADIG, it is a proper name and it is used in Arabic as well as in Punic, and this name is still used in Libya. Della Vida says that the patronymic Sadiq (only the vowel of the first syllable is certain), omitted in the Latin, is attested in Neo-Punic texts (v. Harris's glossary pp.140-41). The form Dioduru without the final "s" can be considered to be the Greek genitive, or as a transcript of a Punic form, with a pronunciation similar to that of vulgar Latin.

Neo-Punic 43 - B. Caputo, "Sculture dello Scavo a Sud del Foro di Sabratha" in Quaderni di Archeologia della Libya, 1, (1950), pp.7-28; Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, XVIII (1963) p.469.

One line is engraved on a marble fragment (length 0.35 x alt. 0.23 cm), found at Sabratha in the area of the temple of Silvanus.

בריקסל ועי באבאז את נדער

Barik - Baal of Oea fulfilled the vow

Neo-Punic 44 - Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, XVIII, (1963), p.471.

This inscription consists merely of names written on a fragment of an urn containing human ashes. It is very similar to the inscription engraved on the urn, IRT 745.

The size of the inscription is 26 x 46 cm and the size of the

letters is 2-8, 5 cm.

אמטבאלהסורי

Amatba'al haso^{ri}

Neo-Punic 45 - Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, XVIII, (1963), p.478.

Two inscriptions engraved on urns found at Lepcis Magna. The first was found in the forum, the other in the area of the theatre. Both of them are first names.

The first: Regine (Reginus) רגנא ענל

Reginus is frequent in Latin inscriptions in Africa but not in Tripolitanian, though we find the feminine name Regina, IRT 639, in Tripolitania; as for (Agel) it is a common Punic name. The masculine name of Agilis is attested by C.I.L. while it cannot be found in I.R.T.

The second: Margarit(a) מרגרית(א)

A name of a woman in the Latin inscription in Inscr. Lat. d'Alg., 1, 3217, 3549.

Neo-Punic 46 - Levi Della Vida in Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, XVIII, fasc. 7-12 pp. 478-79; Bartoccini, R., Il Porto Romano di Lepcis Magna (Con la collaborazione di A. Zanetti), Roma, 1960; Bollettino del Centro di Studi per la storia dell'Architettura no. 13, supplemento al 1958, p. 466 note 67, p.13 and tav. LXXXIII.3).

This inscription is from Lepcis Magna, and is inscribed on a block above the archway of the gate. It consists of names:

פראגרינא אבדסאפון

Peregrine (Peregrinus) Abdsafon

The name Peregrinus is attested in Inscrip. Lat. d'Alg. 1, 1897, 2762. Safon means where the god lives; Abdsafon is a common masculine name.

Noe-Punic 47 - G. Levi Della Vida, Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, XVIII (1963), p.479.

These inscriptions were found in Lepcis Magna, and are engraved on the covers of four urns in a tomb in a chamber cut out of the rock between the amphitheatre and the eastern rampart of the gate and are now in the Lepcis Museum. The pottery suggests a date between the first century B.C. and the first half of the second century A.D. With the exception of the first, all the names are Libyan and non-semitic.

1. a) נַחְמַתְגִּידֶה אִשְׁתּוֹ מִסְדַּיִיבֶה

Na'amatgidde wife of MSDYIVC

This woman's name is attested in Homs, p. 124 and it appears frequently in transliteration in Latin (IRT. 244, 674), Inscr. Lat. d'Alg., 1, p.422.

2. ב) רַכְסַּתְגִּי שַׁפְזֶה

Both are unknown names.

3. c) נַחְמַתְגִּידֶה אִשְׁתּוֹ כַּכְבּ

Wife of KKB

Neo-Punic 48 - Aurigemma, S., in Riv. Trip., II, 1925-26, pp.3-6; Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano, possedimenti e colonie, Milano, 1929, p.317; D.E.L. Haynes, The Antiquities of Tripolitania, London, (1958) p.136; cf. IRT 923 and Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, XVIII, (1963), p. 480.

This inscription is found at a place called Bu Khemasc (Pisida). It consists of two names which are both badly damaged.

ה'קס'
 'll·y·q·' [.....]^t_n ^t_n

Neo-Punic 49 - in Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, XVIII, pp.480-481.

This is now in the museum of Tripoli. It is inscribed on a block of travertine, of unknown origin. It consists solely of names.

[קרמא בן עבדמלקרת]

1.]q r ' t ' son of 'Abdmelqa rt

סמטת [.....]

2.]sⁿ_m ⁿ_t ⁿ_t y

Neo-Punic 50 - St. Gsell in Arch. de l'Afr. du Nord, IV, 1929, p.59;

F. Picard, in Revue Tunisienne, 1935, 137-142; Rend. Acc. Linc.⁸, XVIII 1963, pp.481-2.

It is inscribed on the outer bases of five clay pots discovered in a tomb (no. 195) in the village of Garibaldi, (Ed-Dafnia, 180 km on the Tripoli-Misurata road). These pots all vary in size.

1. The outer base of the first one is 17.4 cm in diameter. The letters of the inscription are 1.1-2 cm.

בריקתגדה

Barikatgadde

This is the name of a woman formed like Na'amatgidde. (Neop. 47a).

There is another form of this name which is not very similar -

Bargydenni, IRT 676 = C.I.L. VIII, 22678.

2. The outer base of this pot is 15.5 cm in diameter; the height of the letters is 1.2-1.4 cm.

בככר

B.K.K.Y.

3. The dimensions of this pot are not recorded but the inscription on it is:

ככ

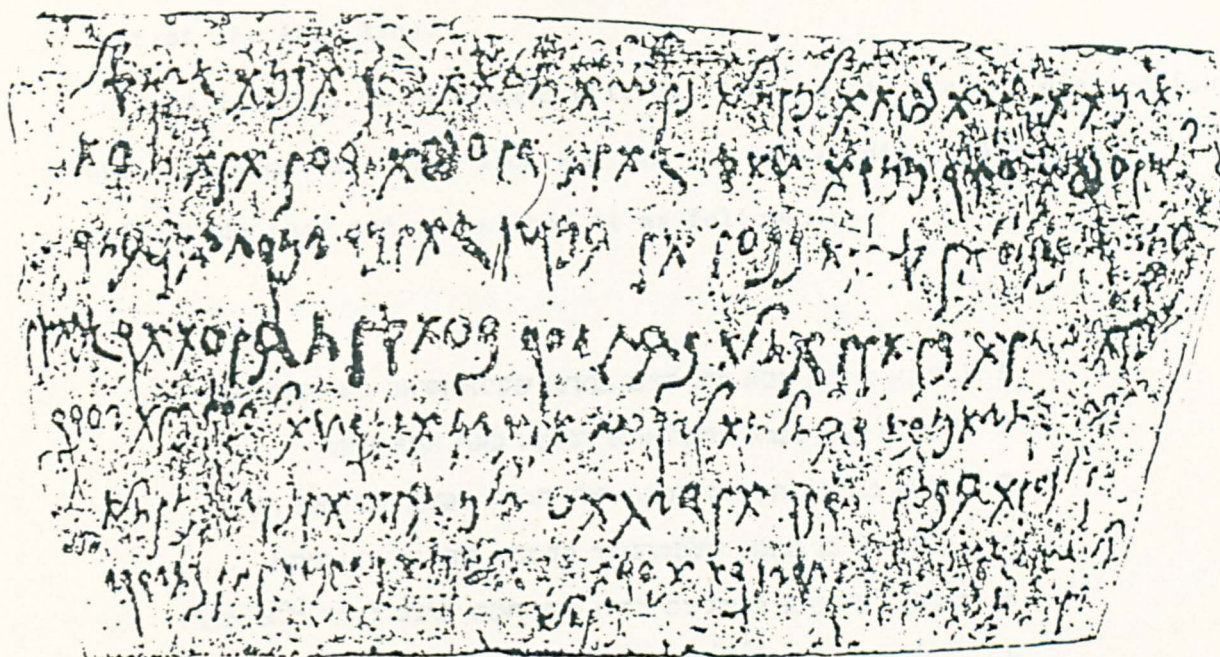
B'

Neo-Punic 51 - G. Levi Della Vida, Orientalia, 33 (1964) pp.1-14.

A large shell inscribed with Neo-Punic letters found in Cussabat, the main town of the region of Msellata in the eastern zone of the Gebel Garian.

This inscription is on a piece of a vase of reddish clay. This piece is of trapezoidal shape. The top half being slightly bigger than the lower part (16.5 x 14 cm), height 8.6 cm. The large shell is intact and is inscribed in dark brown ink with 8 horizontal straight lines of writing, separated at regular intervals. The writing, in which all the letters of the alphabet appear, with the exception of the zayn, is very accurate and regular and seems to be written by an expert hand. It is very similar to that used in inscriptions on stone.

The writing has been well preserved, but here and there parts of the surface of the ink have come off, diminishing the integrity of some letters and sometimes destroying any trace of some letters. Above all the last four lines have many parts missing and there is hardly anything



Neo-Punic 51

It was found in Gusbat, and it is inscribed on a piece
of a vase of redish clay.

left of the last line.

As is usual in Neo-Punic writing, nun and taw are not distinguishable and sometimes also alef and mem are hardly distinguishable.

Della Vida read and translated it as follows:

- 1 [.]מיכא אתנים טמא לכן שלם פחהא שעמא חראב כא וישקל[א]
 2 לדנעמא עסר כטרא צמק ואחא דנעמא כעת אחא שעם
 3 עש[נ]ק בהלעלאת קאם בבעת את הכרם ואחכד יכרי את השד
 4 שבנא חנא בן מתנא שלמברעור בעמקת שההעמאר וכמסת
 5 שח[ע]ת שימטרא בהשלם לידה מנא חמט פרעם לעבר ב[א] יעבר
 6 .. ל[א] לפענא הבעת וד[א]ר את דינע ילך חתם את פרי בן שלם
 7 שלח ציפורם אררם [ב]המקם ב. מ[א] בנודרי
 8 יתן. ש. vacat בן שלם

1. [Re]ports[Of the month]of Etanim. Section?[Of that which is]to be settled. The dessicators appears here and weighed
2. for Donato ten talents of dry edible matter[raisins?]. And Donato came^{at} the time in which he came here,
3. winner of the[concurrents](?) in the auction(?), holding the price with a profit[?], and decided to buy the farm.
4. of the sons of Hanno son of Muttuno, from[?]in the valley of palm-trees; and according to
5. the time in which [?] they will sell, the 30th of the month, he paid 5 p.r.sim to pass to ? his house(?)[his son][?]will pass (?)
6. before payment, and,champion ? . The total[or: accomplishment]will be fruitful settled.

7. He senthoming birds...(?) (in) the place [.....] within [or:
with] my wall(?)
8. He gave(?) settled.

Although I have nothing to add to the reading and translation of the first four lines, the word 'רן' (fourth line) should be translated as "to let" as it is used in Libyan dialect and not "to buy" as suggested by Della Vida.

In the following lines there are other vocabularies which should be translated as follows:

- L.5. n.9. רן means his son and not his house as Della Vida suggested (CIS I 149; Cherh. II 9; DISO, p.37 n.31).
- L.6. n.1. It could be רן = son in law (Latin socer) as in Arabic.
- L.6. n.4. It could be רן = guarantee (NP.37); in Greek as in Phoenician RBN; Latin arraba (DISO, p.221 n.5, 27) = earnest money as security.
- L.6. n.6. It could be רן = Greek ^o DGMA = an authoritative order (or: probably means here, legal procedure for transferring; or written agreement).
- L.6. n.7. רן = to proceed, to reach (in Hebrew), William Gesenius, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, 30; cf. Poenulus, V.934; M. Szynger, p.78; DISO, pp.65,66).
- L.6. n.10. It could be רן = before and not fruit as Della Vida translated.
- L.7. n. The letters before רן could read רן = eight (DISO, p.309 n.7).
- L.7. n. The letters after the word רן could be רן Tanit = our goddess Tanit (cf. NP.38⁵; DISO, p.270).

However I would translate this inscription as follows:

1. Account for October; portion to be paid. The driers of (fruit) here opened and weighed out
2. to Donatus ten talents of dry fruit, and Donatus came, at the time that he came there,
3. victorious in the auction, standing firm on the price, with (profit) (to himself); and he decided that he would rent the field of
4. Hanno, son of Muttuno stretching from the bottom of the valley of the palm-tree and
5. at the time that he rent^{ed} it, on the 30th of the month, he paid five sacks of dates so that it may pass to his son [and his son-in-law].
6. Before the payment a [guarantee] with [legal agreement] were secured (or; achieved) before the completion.
7. He released ...[and].... [and eight] hunting birds in the sanctuary [of our goddess Tanit] in the vicinity of my boundaries
8. He gave it is paid for

Neo-Punic 52 - G. Garbini, "Dieci Anni Di Epigrafia Punica Nel Magrab" in Studi Magrebini (1965-1974) p.11; G. Levi Della Vida, "un edita iscrizione neopunica da Leptis Magna (Tripol. 52)", in Studio in memoriam C. Brockelmann, Hale (Sadle) (1968), pp.127-32.

Only a transliterated text is available.

ʾydh ʾršm bn b'ls̄lk
hbn btsʾtm btm thpt/n st

"...Arišam son of Ba'alsillek

' the builder completed, at his
expense, this...."

The first word seems to be a yifil form of dhy, or dhh or dw/yh or ndh:

'he has had it removed'

Concerning the noun pt which must certainly indicate the object on which the inscription is carved, that is to say a sundial, it may be compared to the Hebrew 'Potot' which means "hinges".

Neo-Punic Sabratha 53 - G. Levi della Vida, 'Iscriizione punica da Sabratha' Libya Antiqua, III-IV, (1966-1967), a.

Punic inscription found at Sabratha, engraved on a small slab or rather hard limestone at least 3 cm thick, length 6 cm and height 5.5 cm. The left side of the slab still retains its margin whereas the right side appears to be broken. This brief and incomplete inscription most probably came from a tomb of the necropolis, situated on the southwest margin of the inhabited part of Sabratha.

The letters are deeply engraved. There are ten letters of the twenty-two letters of the Phoenician alphabet, and these have the usual shape of the current Punic writing.

The surviving part of the inscription can be accurately read apart from two or three letters at the beginning and at the end of Line 1.

1. [...] ? [...] 'הן בן ע ?

2. [...] בן בעל' סק

3. [...] בן צר vacat

The inscription consists of three names. The relation between these three names and their function in the context of the inscription

are still uncertain. The most probable hypothesis is that it is a sepulchral inscription, in which case the piece which is missing on the right would not be very much, and the beginning would be replaced with the word qbr 'sepulchre of', after which would immediately follow the name of the deceased, x-yaton, which would be accompanied with a genealogy; the beginning, which is missing in Line 2 would have consisted of the final part of the father's name and in Line 3 the word bn 'son' followed by the name of the ancestor.

On the other hand it could be a votive inscription, in which case the initial definition would have undoubtedly been ndr s ndr In this case, however, it would be supposed that the missing part would be greater than for the first hypothesis.

Neo-Punic 54 - Marisa Rossi - G. Garbini, "Nuovi documenti epigrafici della Tripolitania", Libya Antiqua, 12 (1982) pp.7-20.

A bilingual dedication to Ba'al-Saturn on a marble Labrum from Sabratha, found in the land owned by Messaud el-Kateb. Along with this Labrum other findings were discovered in the same place, such as a billet of a column, a small head of a column with plain leaves in stucco - sandstone - in fragments, because of its style it may be dated between the first and the second century A.D.

ndr lb'l bs'ntsty [y]w^{oo}nthih_hn(45)

bn 'g'dr. KSdh'..... 't qlm .

"This is dedicated to Ba'al of BSNTS [offering to Baal in the village of TST/TSN] YWNTHN(45) son of 'G'DR the basin for ablution ... (because he listens to) his voice".

Neo-Punic 55 - G. Garbini, "Dedica Neo-Punica a Caelestis da Tarhuna"
Libya Antiqua, 12 (1982) pp.19-20.

A Neo-Punic inscription inscribed on a pointed stele (the height 106 cm; the width of the base 41.5; thickness 14.5). It was found at Tarhuna and it is dedicated to Caelestis.

The inscription consists of four lines.

mnšbt s n'byt

bt gdb nmt

l' QLYST

btm

It is translated by Prof. G. Garbini as follows:

"Stele of Nabit daughter of Gidbanmat - for
 Caelestis - completed."

I would read and translate this inscription as follows:

1. MNSBT SFA ABIR
2. BT GDBF MUTT-
3. NO QLYST
4. BTM

Translation:

1. Stele of Sfa ABIR
2. Daughter of Gdbf Mutt-
3. no for Caelestis
4. Completed

Comments:

1. MNSBT : it is a Punic construct of MSET = stele (CIS I 159¹; 3778⁴; DISO, p.164 no.30).
1. SFABYR : It could be a proper name.
2. BT : daughter of (APP. I, NP.29³)
2. GDBAF: It could be a proper name.
- 2/3. MUTTNO: it is a proper name.
3. QLYST: The goddess Caelestis (APP.2, LP.65,3).
4. BTM: Completed (DISO, 8.329).

APPENDIX II

Latino-Punic inscriptions

These inscriptions have been found in the hinterland of Tripolitania. Some of them have been the subject of several philological studies, first by R. Bartoccini⁽¹⁾, G. Levi della Vida⁽²⁾, and R.G. Goodshild⁽³⁾, and more recently by M. Szyner⁽⁴⁾, Krahmalkov⁽⁵⁾, F. Vattioni⁽⁶⁾ and G.C. Polsell⁽⁷⁾. But nothing has been attempted in a systematic way. The subject is so difficult that the absence of a complete treatment is understandable and justifiable. Although the writing of the Punic language in Latin letters is confirmed by authentic documents, such as the piece from the Poenulus by Plautus and the occasional terms used by St. Augustine⁽⁸⁾, some scholars have not understood the language of Latino-Punic inscriptions and have thought that it was Libyan⁽⁹⁾. Thus the translation of some of these inscriptions still difficult.

In an attempt to find proper translations for these inscriptions the Latino-Punic inscriptions from Tripolitania are re-examined here, and assigned the numbers given by F. Vattioni in Augustinianum 16(1976), pp. 536-66.

LP.1 (=Append. 1 NP.17).

Seal on tile. Leptis Magna. R. Bartoccini, Le antichita della Tripolitania, Milano 1926, 30 fig. 33; G. Levi della Vida, Libya 3 (1927) 108s; AI 4 (1929) 186s; OA 2 (1963) 83s; J. Friedrich, ZDMG 107 (1967) 296; KAI 178; Vattioni 41, n. 34; Idem. Aug. 16 (1976) 537,

1. FELIOTH. IADEM SY RO
2. GATE YMMA-
3. NNAY

A suggested translation is as follows:

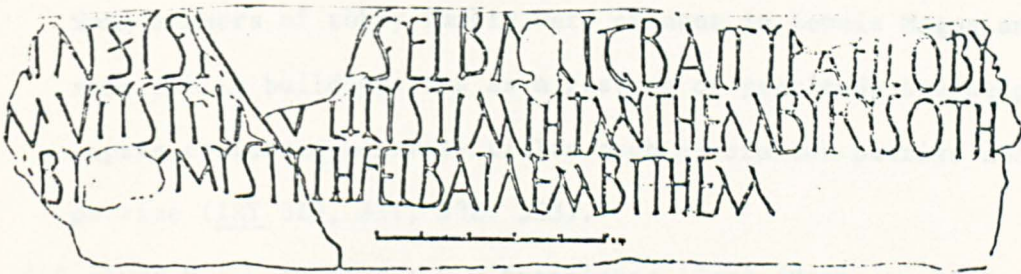
'The hands of Rogatus Yammannay made (this).'

Discussion:

1. FEL : -translates 'he made'. This verb, a latin tranliteration of P'L (DISO, pp. 231-32) is frequently attested in Tripolitania inscriptions (cf. IRT 929. 1,3; 873.2; 877.2). Also the inflected forms of the root P'L; FELA (she made' (IRT 826.1/2.3), and FELU 'they made' (IRT 889.2, 906.1). This verb is also found in the same spelling 'FEL' in verse 935 of the Poenulus : 'FEL YTH CHYL YS CHON YTHEM LIFUL' "he did everything that was to his advantage to do" (ythem= for himself corresponds to SIBI in latin version of the verse 956 and ythem = 'to him' in verse 937 of the Poenulus).¹⁰
 1. IOTH: yoth: it could be a corrupt form of punic YTH ' a sign of the accausative (Poen. Vers. 930, 932, 935, 936). It is a solecisms that it used, here, before the nomative.
 1. IADEM: -translates 'hands' (Szyncer, 1967, p. 68).
 1. SY(=SI = S): it is usually used as a relative pron. (poen. vers. 930, 933, 935) and sometimes as a genitive (poen. vers. 944; Szyncer, (ibid. p. 126-27). Here it translates 'of'.
 - 1/2 ROGATUS : is a very common name in african inscriptions in both Punic and Latin (IRT 244; 281).
 - 2/3 YAMMANNAY :
- The explanation of YMMANNAY is still uncertain: restoring as AMMAN. (Friedrich 205) does not resolve much. According to G. Levi della Vida⁽¹¹⁾ the ending "ai" seems odd. Ymmannay may be a proper noun like the nouns ending in -aeus (Ridaeus, in a bilingual form el-Amruni and "Gadaeus" Neo-Punic 123). Vattioni⁽¹²⁾ says that to think

of $ym=m$ (n) annai is not helpful, in spite of the presence of NNAY in the graffito from Wasta.

LP.2. Uncertain origin. Now in Lepcis Magna Museum. R. Bartoccini, *op.cit.* 30, fig. 32 (inaccurate copy); IRT 828; G. Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 77179; Vattioni 48s; Aug. 1976, 537-38.



This inscription reads:

1. (M) INSISTH (M)V FEL BARIGBAL TYPAFI LOBY-
2. M VIYSTILA VLILY STIM IHIM YTHEM BYR YSOTH
3. (LY)BY(TH)YM YS TYTH FEL BAI AEM BITHEM

A suggested translation of IRT 828

'Stele which Bariþbaad Typafi made for his father Viystila and for his wife, his brother (and) himself. This shaft tomb, for his family, that is below did he make during his lifetime and at his own expense.'

Discussion of IRT 828

1. MINSISTH : -translates 'stele' (G.L. della Vida, OA 2, 1963, 77).

It recurs in other inscriptions (IRT 873.1: 906.1/2).

1. MV : -translates 'which' (G.L. della Vida, OA 2, 1963, 78-80).

It recurs in other inscriptions from roman Tripolitania (IRT 873,

877, 901,). 1. FEL : -translates 'he made' (see above PL. 1.1).

1. Barigbal : It is a Punic proper name (G.L. Vida, OA2, 1963, 78).

It is very frequent in North Africa, with various alteration Bergbal, Barigbali, Baregbalis, Baregbals (Vattioni, Aug. 16, 1976, 538 no. 207) ; Berecbal (CIL viii, 513).

1. TYPAFI : It is a proper name and it is latinization (Tapapius: IRT 273, 319, 341) of Punic Tbhpy (G.L. della Vida, Libya, 3, 1927, 99-105).

Some members of tbhpy family were eminent in Lepcis Magna and paid for some public buildings and as a gesture of gratitude the people of Lepcis conferred honorary titles such as ornator patriae and amator patriae (IRT 319, 321, 322, 323).

- 1/2. LOBY M : L + OBY M : L - translates 'for' (Szyncer, 1967, 61, 62)

Also in ^aArbic it translates 'for'. OBYM : G.L. Vida read it as OBYNIM and translated it as 'his son' (1963,78). But his amendment and translation are not acceptable. Vattioni explained that OB is a corrupt form of ab and -ym is a sing. suffix of third person and he translates OBYM as 'father' (Aug. 16, 1976, 538) which is more likely.

2. VIYSTILA : a proper noun masc. (G.L. Vida, 1963, 78; CIL 8. 1732:

Veustilla). VLILY : -translates 'and for' (Poen.v. 938; Vattioni, 1976, 538). Stim : -translates 'his wife'. It recurs in another transcription from Tripolitania (Bartoccini, Af. Ital. 1, p.233) and is interpreted by Krahmalkov as 'his wife' (MOS, 1976, p.50).

IHM : Vattioni (1976, 538) translated it as dual of AH = brothers.

But we would translate it as 'his brother' as -i(m) is the possessive pronoun of the third masc. sing. and the noun, here is in genitive.

The usage of a possessive suffix - i(m) can be illustrated with an example from the poenulus and the corpus:

(a) YTHBINIM : latin eius filium = 'his son' (poen. v. 936).

(b) FLAVI DASAMA VY BINIM "Flavius Dasama and his son" (IRT 889)

YTHEM : -translates 'for himself', corresponds to sibi in the latin version of the vers (956) of the Poenulus (cf. ythem 'to him' : poen. v. 937). BYR : -translates 'shaft tomb' (Krahmalkov, MOS, 1976, 58-9).

YSOTH : - demonstr. pron. translates 'this' (ibid. p. 59). It finds its explanation in poenulus MACOMSYTH 'this sanctuary' (v. 930).

Line 3. (LY)BY(TH)YM: LYBYTHEM (or: LBYTHEM) - translates 'for his family' (ibid.). It recurs in other inscription engraved on a tomb at Zdu (in Zliten) in Tripolitania (Bartoccini, Afr. Ital., 1, p. 233).

YS : ys = s - relative pron. - translates 'that' (poen. vers. 935, 936).

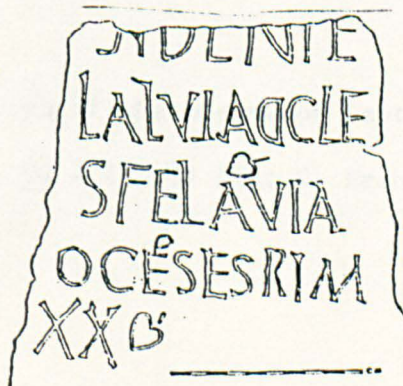
TYTH : It was taken by Krahmalkov as 'below' (op. cit. p. 50). It could be a corrupt form of punic 'THT' (DISO. ' 326)

BAIAEM : -translates 'during (his) lifetime' (DISO. p. 30, 31). BITHEM : -translates 'at his expense' (G.L. della Vida, 1963, 78). It recurs in a bilingual inscription and corresponds to latin : DE SUA PECUNIA (Neo-Punic 30 = IRT 321).

LP.3. Severan Forum of Leptis Magna. IRT 826. J. Friedrich, ZDMG 107 (1957) 297; G. Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 84; C. Krahmalkov, JSS 17 (1972) 73s; Vattioni, Aug. 16 (1976) 537-38.

This inscription reads:

1. SIDEN FE-
2. LALVIA OCLE-
3. S FELVIA
4. OCES ESRIM
5. XX



This inscription was discussed by G.L. della Vida (OA2. 1963. 84). He suggested that the name of the deceased was FELALVIA (for Flavia) OCLES and that the second two names repeated incorrectly as FELAVIA OCES. Krahmalkov (JSS, XVII, 1972, p. 73 n.2) argues that 'Lvია is clearly a haplography occasioned by the occurrence of LA in FELA, while the mission of L in Oces is due to the following ES in ESRIM'. He translated it as follows:

'Sid(d)en made (this stele) for her brother Ocles. Ocles, her brother lived twenty years'.

Vattioni (Aug. 16, 1976, 538) translated it as: 'She made it for her brother Ocles, it was made by her brother twenty XX'.

He suggested that the first word from the first line could read (AB)EN'tombestone' as in CIS i 3784. But as the upper portion of the letters in the first line are missing due to a damage to the stone, the traces are sufficiently clear to restore the reading. Therefore the first five characters from the first line read: SIDEN which could be linked with some proper numidian nouns such as SIDIN, SIDDIN (variant STIDDEN :IRT 875.2). Fela 'she made' (LP.1). LVIA : L 'for' (above LP.2:1) VIA 'her brother' (cf. poen. v. 932; Szyncer, 1967, 65; Krahmalkov, JSS 17 (1972) 74 n.2). However, I would translate this inscription as follows: 'Sid(d)en made (this stele) for her brother Ocles, she made it (jointly with) her brother Ocles (aged XX (years)).'

LP.4. Uncertain origin. Courtyard of the museum of Leptis Magna.

IRT 827; G. Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 84s; C. Krahmalkov, JSS 17 (1972) 72.



1. LYMITHICSIN AMICE
2. BAL YSRIM YSA
3. VMYLTHE

It is a brief text of three lines on a funerary stele erected to a certain ICSIN AMICE.

Levi della Vida has proposed a sound translation of lines 1-2a, which are in his words "di agevole intendimento". But he says that the final two words are incomprehensible, analysis of them would be arbitrary and conjectural. His translation for the first two lines is as follows:

'AL defunto Icsin Amice di Venti (anni).'

C. Krahmalkov translated this inscription as follows:

"For the deceased, Icsin Amice, age twenty, husband of Umylthe". F. Vattioni translated it as follows: "Al morto icsin Amico signore di venti e il suo uomo umythe".

However, as explained by Levi della Vida the plural of MYTH appears as MYTHEM in IRT 828.2. The Numidian name Icsin is only attested here, but Amice (Latin AMICUS) is well known in the Latin inscription from Tripolitania. Krahmalkov says that the use of BAL (age) instead of BYN (Punic BN) is unusual, but this divergence from common usage may have been peculiar to the dialect of Tripolitania (ibid. p. 72, n.2). Levi della Vida believes that YSRIM is a variant transcription of ESRIM xx in IRT 826. Krahmalkov translated YSA VMYLTHE as "husband of UMYlthe". He added that the use of the possessive suffix -A (-a) with YS, which is syntactically genitive, instead of the allomorph -y, is not unexpected in an inscription of such a date. This is clear from the Tripolitanian

Neo-Punic form BINIM "his son" in IRT 889.1: the noun is nominative case but the suffix used is -IM, which was affixed in the earlier stage of the language only to the noun when genitive.

However, Krahmalkov's translation is more convincing.

LP.5. Leptis Magna. IRT 671.

1. BAL
2. V SANV

-Bal
5(?) years.

1. Bal is not very frequent in the onomatology of these inscriptions.
2. Sanu (t) : for the vowelization s nt, see J. -B Chabot, JA 8 (1916) 487.488.

LP.6. = Neo-Punic 25.

Bartoccini R., AI, 1 (1927) 232-236; Beguinot, F., RSO, 24 (1949), p.15; G. Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 83ff; Vattioni, F., in Augustinianum, 16 (1976) p. 535; Sznycer M., GLECS, 10 (1965) pp.101-2; Krahmalkov, C.R., MOS, (1976) pp.57-64; Polselli, Studi Magrebini, XI (1979) p.40; G. Garbini, Studi Magrebini, VIII (1976), 12.

This inscription was found engraved on a tomb at Zdu (in Zliten) dated to the end of the 3rd century A.D. The text was first copied and discussed by Bartoccini who recognised the latin cognomen 'Piso'.

It has been the subject of several philological studies; the first by Levi della Vida, Friedrich, Sznycer, and more recently by Vattioni, and Krahmalkov. This inscription provides important data for the lexicon of Neo-Punic.

FELTHYBURLICINI
 PISOBYTHEMUSNIM
 VVLYSTHIMVLYSAR
 YNULVN SANV LXXIII
 FELO

1. FEL THY BUR LICINI
2. PISO LYBITHEM LISNIM
3. VVLYSTHIM VVLYSAR-
4. YNULVN SANV LXXIII
5. FELO

1. FELTHY, we think it translates 'I made' and THY could be first person nominative sing. Thus FELTHY like ^{Arabic} P'LTO 'I made' and ^{the fact that} the writer moves from first to 3rd person is a solecism.
1. BUR: G. Levi della Vida suggested that Thy BUR was possibly the Libyan praenomen of Licinius Piso. F. Vattioni interpreted it as "pit. shaft" and accordingly he renders BUR as 'fossa.' C. Krahmalkov translated it as "The shaft tomb", which we think is the more precise meaning. The term BUR is nearly equivalent to the Arabic Bir='pit', 'well' and Hebrew bor.
2. Lybithem has been translated by J. Friedrich p.34, n.1 "for his parents". Lisnim could be seen as li+snim=for the two. (Krahmalkov, 1976, p.61).
3. Vly + sthim = "and to (for) his wife" presents no difficulties. Vylysarynu = Vly + Sarynu = For Sarynu which is a proper name.

4. LVN: "lived". It has the meaning of "passer la nuit" (DISO p. 136) and gives the meaning of "lived" (Cf. G.C. Polselli, SM, II (1979) 45).
5. Felo: Fel+o (third person singular suffix): active 'He made it' (ie. the tomb) (Krahmalkov, mos, 1976, 63).

Vattioni translated it literally as follows:

1. Has been made the grave Licini(us)
2. Piso at his own expense
3. And to his wife
4. Years 74
5. It was made

Ch. R. Krahmalkov read and translated it as follows:

1. FEL THYBVR LICINI
2. PISO LYBYTHEM LISNIM
3. VYLYSTHIM VYLYS AR
4. VN BYN SANV (th) LXXIIII
5. FELO

"Licinius Piso made (this) shaft tomb for his family, for two (men) and for two (women), and for each a sarcophagus. He was seventy-four years old. He made it."

G.C. Polselli translated it as follows:

"ⁿⁱLici(us) Piso had the tomb made for his two parents, his wife and for Sarynu who lived 74 years."

The translation of ^fPolselli is more acceptable than the others and her translation for verb LVN as lived, I think it is right. As for the word YSAR Levi della Vida suggested that it corresponds to the Hebrew SHAR "resto" remainder and M. Sznycer (GLECS, 10, 1966, p. 102) translated it to Punic word SHAIER "meat". But as LVN means "lived" none

of these suggestions is valid.

LP.6a. Sirtica. Fourth century A.D. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928) 195, tav.

I, nr. 8; IRT 855; KAI 190d; Vattioni 52.

1. AVO ANIBONI
2. SANU

Lived Aniboni
years

1. In CIL VIII, 20394: Ave.

One must note that these types of texts are brief, and consist of the name of the deceased, and simple variants of the formula

"vixit annos" or in some cases the Punic equivalent "avo sanu ..."

(IRT 855). Verb AVO = lived (Poen.v. 994)

LP.7. Sirtica. R. Bartoccini, AI (1928) 192, tav. I, nr. 15; IRT 855;

J. Friedrich, ZDMG 107 (1957) 296; KAI 180a; Vattioni 52;

Bratwick 43.

1. MERCURI
2. AVO SANU
3. VI

Mercuriu
lived years
VI.

LP.8. Sirtica. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928s) 192, tav. I, nr. 16.

THIAXOS OPPUR THI AVIS (... lived years)?

LP.9. Sirtica. Fourth century. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928s) 192, tav. I,

nr. 26, 197; IRT 855; Vattioni 43.

1. POM
2. AVA

Pom(pea)
lived

LP.10. Sirtica. Fourth century. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928s) 192, tav. II,

nr. 29, 197; IRT 855; KAI 1804; Vattioni 53.

1. AB(D)VSMVN AV
2. SANV CII

Abdusmun lived
years 102

LP.11. Sirtica. Fourth century. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928s) 193, tav. II,

nr. 30. 197.

1. ACASOTI DANNO
2. ACHCRI

LP.15. Sirtica. Fourth century. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928s) 193, tav. II,

nr. 39.

1. AMOLIM (AMULIM?)
2. SANV CIII

Amolim
years 103

LP.17. Sirtica. Fourth century. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928s) 193, nr. 40;

KAI

1. ALIDE
2. AVO S

Alido
lived years.

1. Alidus in Gsell 2843.

LP.18. Sirtica. Fourth century. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928s) 199, nr. 43.

1.SANV III
2.SA

years 3

LP.19. Sirtica. Fourth century. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928s) 193, tav. II, nr. 46, 199; Vattioni 53.

APUPURU S AV

Apupuru years lived(?)

LP.20. Sirtica. Fourth century. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928s) 193, nr. 50, 199; J. Friedrich, ZDMG 107 (1957) 296; KAI 180c; Vattioni 42-43.

1. AMONIS
2. AVO SANU-
3. TH XXV

Anomis
lived years
25

LP.21. Sirtica. Fourth century. R. Bartoccini, AI 2 (1928s) 193, tav. II, nr. 51, 200.

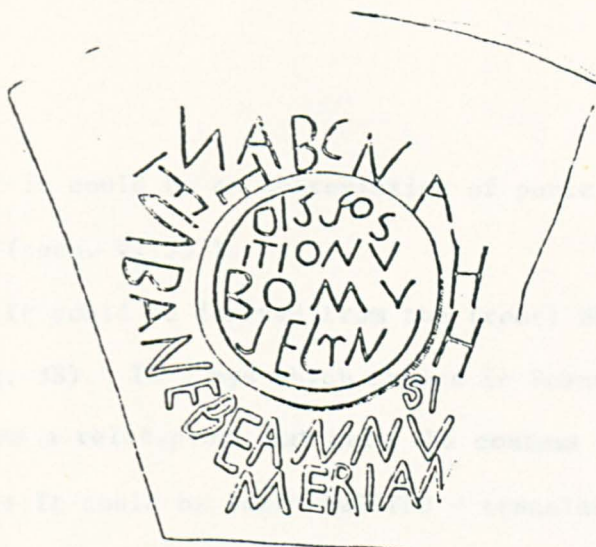
1. KALLI BI-
2. RICIISIT
3. A O S LXV
4. LXXV

Gallio(?) from Bi-
ric(?) lived
lived years 65?
75

2. Biric: F. Vattioni suggested that 1/2 BIRICIISIT could be a corruption of Latin VIXIT. 3. A(NN)OS. Gallio: a proper name.

It recurs in other inscriptions from Tripolitania (IRT 533, 534).

LP. 22. Small mausoleum west of Bir el-Uaar (Ulad Brech). Museum of Tripoli, IRT 865; Vattioni 42; G. Levi della Vida, in AION, 17 (1967) p. 262; F. Vattioni, 1976, p. 541-42.



F. Vattioni read and translated this inscription as follows:

FLABANE BEA N NUMERIAN SIHHAN C BANE O IS POSITIO NUBO MUFELYN

'Flaviano, figliodi Numeriano Sihhan, poiche ha edificato costui(?) una nuova posizione l' ha fatta.' He added that the translation of IS and MUFELYN is uncertain.

G. Levi della Vida emphasised the difficulty of the language of this inscription, and he did not accept the translation of Vattioni, which remains dubious.

However, I would read and translate this inscription as follows:

FLABANE BEAN NUMERIAN SIHHAN C BANE O IS POSITIO NVBO MVFELYN.

'Flavianus son of Numerian Sihhan has built (this stele) in this new position which he made'.

Discussion of IRT 865

FLABANE: Flavianus : a proper name like Flacianus (IRT 114), Flauianus (IRT 475, 575).

BEAN : a corrupt form of punic BN - translates 'son of' (cf. DISO, p. 37).

NUMERIAN : a proper name and it recurs in variant shapes in Neo-punic inscription from Tripolitania (see below Appen.1, Neo-punic 39.3)

SIHHAN : a proper name.

C. : it could be an abbreviation of punic CHIRS - translates 'stele' (poen. v. 937).

BANEO : It could be derived from the (root) BNH - translates 'build' (DISO, p. 38). IS : =ys which recurs in Poenulus' (vers.935,936,946, 948) - as a relat.pron. but here the context demands 'this'.

POSITIO : It could be latin POSITIO - translates 'situation, place'.

NVBO- translates "new" (Vattioni, 542).

MV - translates "which" (poen. V. 1010; DISO, p. 144).

FELYN : could be a form of the verb. FEL = He made (see above PL.1).

LP.23. Near the mausoleum of Gasr Doga. IRT 873. R.G. Goodchild, PBSR (1951) 45, 74; G. Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 44-45.

This inscription reads.

1. MYNSYSTH-
2. Y MV FEL BIBI
3. MYTHVNILIM
4. VINSER LIBINIM
5. MYTTHVNILIM

I would follow F. Vattioni in translating this inscription as follows:

'Stele which Vibius Mythunilim Vinser has made to his son Mythunilim'.

Discussion:

1/2 MYNSYSTHY : mynsysthy - translates 'stele' (G.L. Della Vida, OA 2, 1963, 77) and it recurs in other Latino-punic inscriptions from Tripolitania (IRT 906. 1/2; 828.1). 3. MYTHUNILIM : a proper name like MTNBAL which attested in Neo-punic inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania (Della Vida, RIV. Trip., 1, 66). It is attested in latin inscriptions under the forms Muthunbal (CIL VIII, 16776) and Muthumbal (CIL, VIII, 17296).

LP.24. Wadi Uaeni. D. Oates, PBSR 22 (1954) 115s, tav. 16b; G. Levi della vida, OA 2 (1963) 79s; 4 (1965) 59s; Vattioni 43, nr. 48.

1. IV LFAV
2. SANV AV LXVI
3. HOC FILLYTH
4. MIA SANV AV
5. XXXIII

This inscription was first discussed by G. Levi della Vida who read the word AV which appears after SANV as an=an(nis).

F. Vattioni translated this word as "lived" and Ch. R. Krahmalkov followed him (JAOS, 93 1973, p. 62-3). The latter's reading:

HOC FIL LY THMIA

was not accepted by G. Garbini (Studi. Mag. VI, 1974, 12) who objected that the same stele would then carry the name of the deceased Iulius Flavius who raised it to commemorate the death of another, that is to say Thmia:

"... risulta che la stessa stele su cui e inciso il nome del defunto Iulius Flavius fur eretta da questo per ricordare la morte di un altro, 'cioe' Thmia"

However, Krahmalkov's interpretation seems to me acceptable, and there is no need for Garbini's reservations regarding it. Therefore the translation of this inscription should be as follows:

"Iul(ius) F(1)av(ius) (who) lived 66 years made this (tomb) for Thmia who lived 33 years."

LP.25. Between the village of Breviglieri and Tarhuna IRT 875; R.G. Goodchild, PBSR 19 (1951) 73; tav. XIII, 2; Id., Reports and Monographs of the Department of Antiquities in Tripolitania 2 (1949) , 34; Vattioni, Aug. 16 (1976) 542.

1. Flavii Sebentius C(en)t(e)n(arius)
2. et STIDDIN eius con-
3. iunx hunc locum
4. didicarunt o bonum i(ni-)
5. tium matisuq filiis concil-
6. ium salvis libiris
7. cum filicitati trium-
8. fanti BINAITIR possissu

LP.26. Sidi bir Laaba. Museum of Leptis?, IRT 876; R.G. Goodchild, PBSR

19 (1951) 73.

1. Fl. Gaudentius
2. bono tuo proce-
3. das et i(n) nomine
4. (C)hristi omnes genus
5. Seberi bibant (non Christian) A ua(1e)
6. hec tvris fabric-
7. ata est ANOTAP LSA ¹³ Ano tap
8. ETRAVLI HORDEI et FOL XXX and 30 sacks of barley

LP.27. =IRT 877: R.G. Goodshild, PBSR, 19 (1951)74, tav. xiii; 1, Id.,

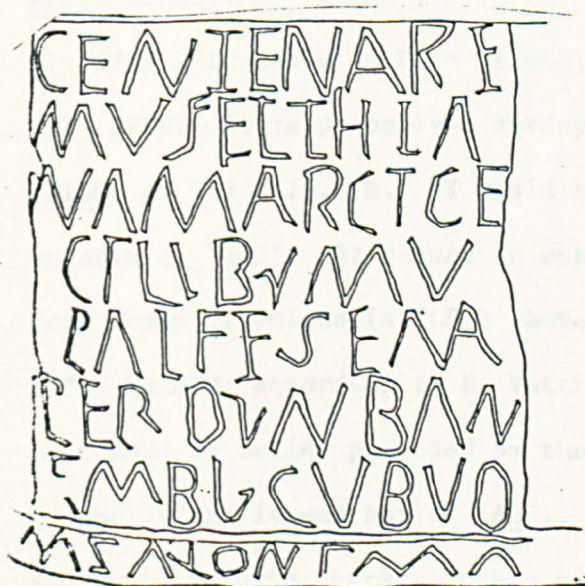
RM (1949) 33; G. Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 87; F. Vattioni,

AUG, p. 54, 'Vattioni, Aug. 16 (1976) 545.

It was inscribed on the doorway of the gasr at Breviglieri, near Sidi Ali ben Zaid, S. of the Tarhuna-Gussabat road in the

province of ancient Roman Tripolitania. Now in Lepcis Museum.

It reads as follows:



1. CENTENARE
2. MV FELTHI A-
3. NA MARCI CE-
4. CILI BYMV-
5. PAL FESEM A
6. PER OY NBAN-
7. EM BVCV BVO-
8. MS AYO NEMA

G. Levi della Vida has proposed a sound translation of lines 1-3 which in his words "si leggono e s'intendono facilmente".

However, he translated the word 4/5 BYMUPAL as by (n)Mupal and 6/7 NBANEM as "sons" and he stated that the rest of the text is "incomprehensible". His translation for the first three lines is as follows: "Centenarium which Thiana Marcius C(a)ecilius made".

F. Vattioni followed Levi della Vida in his translation of the first four lines and considered 4/5 BYMVPAL as a proper name.

But BYMUPAL=BY + MUPAL :BY = with (Poen.ver.933; cf. DISO, p.31 n. 23, 26).

MVPAL, could be punice MYPAL: mjpl - translates 'action' (DISO, p.150 n.1) and here gives the meaning of 'construction, manufacture'.

In "Latino-Punic" inscriptions P is a variant of F (M. Szynger, PPP., 62-63).

5. FESEM: It could be PS = plaque, tablet (DISO, p. 230 n. 42).

5/6. APER: It is probably a corrupted form of PER=F'R=marble (DISO, p. 233 n.1). 6. OY could be a corrupt form of VY -conj. translates 'and'. It recurs in other latino-punic inscriptions from roman Tripolitania (LP.6 above; IRT 886f.6).

6/7. NBANEM: according to F. Vattioni it could derive from the root BNH= to build, preceded by the n- prefix indicating the passive (Niphal) "and it was built" (AUG., 16, 1976, p. 543). While I believe Vattioni is quite correct in his translation of NBANEM he could not recognize the two following words BVCU and BUOMS.

7. BUCU: It could be the construct from the Punic BIC = little, small (DISO, p. 36 n.30), Latin PAUCUS. It recurs in variant dialect as BYCUS (LP.58=IRT 892) in an inscription from Gasr el-Ureia. As adjective Bucus should not precede its noun. It is clear a Solecism.


7/8. BUOMS: Greek BOMOS BWMLS= small altar (DISO , p. 37, n. 17).

8. AYO: AYO=AUO= lived (Cf. Poen. v. 994; cf. IRT 855). NEMA: grace, good (cf. Levi della Vida, RANL. VIII, col. XVIII, 1963, p. 479, Tripol. 47; IRT 244, 274; DISO, p.181 n.6.). It occurs in other inscriptions (CIL. VIII, 22663; Brooke, p. 80=CIS,1, 95). I would translate this inscription as follows: "A centenarium which Thiana Marcius Cecilius has made with the manufacture of a marble plaque, and a small altar was built. He lived in grace". No doubt that T.M. Cecilius was the tribunus of the zone and probably the chieftain of the dominant tribe at this place at that time. Besides his military authority it seems that he was responsible for the religious affairs.

LP.28. Breviglieri, near Sidi Ali ben Zaid. Museum of Leptis Magna.

IRT 877a; J.I.M. Perkins, R. Goodchild, Archaeologia 95

(1953) 44-47, tav. XXib; G. Caputo, Bollettino del Museo dell'Impero Romano 13 (1942) appendice al vol. 70 (1942) del Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica del Governatorato di Roma p. 152.



ANTHATHA NYSY YRRSI I
BIBAS MASIERKAR IIII 2

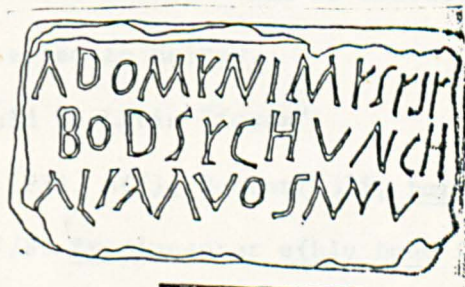
1. ANTHATHA(?)NYSY YRRSI I
2. BIBAS MASIERKAR IIII S

A suggested translation of IRT 877a

'Anththa offered ^(this) stele, for Bibaz Masierkar (who lived) 4 years'

Discussion:

1. ANTHTHA could be a proper name. It is not attested elsewhere.
 1. NYSY, could be a verbal form derived from the root - NS' = 'to offer'.
 1. YRRZ could be a corrupt form of punic ERS 'stele' (Poen. v.947).
 1. LI, these two characters could be transcription of punic LI - translates 'for'. It recurs in other latino-punic inscriptions from Tripolitania (see below LP.4, 33, 36, 59).
 2. BIBAZ, a proper name and as V was usually substituted by B, it could be a transcription of Vibius (see below LP 23.2=IRT 873).
 2. MASIERKAR, a proper name and recurs in variant transcription in another Latino-punic inscription from Tripolitania (see below LP 36. 3/4 = IRT 886e). 2. S, could be the abbreviation of SANU = years (cf. IRT 855).
- LP.29. Gasr Zuguseh. H.S. Cowper, Hill of the Graces, London 1897, fig. 42; cf. CIL VIII, 22667; IRT 878.
1. PRIMO (Arimo? Primo?)
 2. MALLBOLSO
- LP.30. Cussabat. IRT 879; G. Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 85; Vattioni 41; C. Krahmalkov, RSF 3, 2 (1975) 184.



I would follow F. Vattioni (1976, 544) in translating this inscription as follows:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. ADOMYNIM YSY SY | Adomynim husband of |
| 2. BODSYCHVN CH- | Bodsychn Ch- |
| 3. ALIA AVO SANV | alia lived years |

1. Adomynim: the first section is a deformation of 'adon' as in 'Adombal' (LP.39, 3/4).

2. Bodsychn: bod is very frequent in the onomatology as in Bd Melqart (Cooke NSI, 1903, p. 43 n. 7. 8) which is equal to ABD 'servant'.

LP.31. Basin of the valley of Sofeggin. IRT 884.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| a. 1. Julius Seuerus Masinthanis filius (.....) an | |
| 2. munitionem tunic paren(.....)mu | |
| 3. mi eius renouauit Gaudentius (.....)m | |
| 4. atoribus qua uoluntati orna(.....)it | |
| 5. C(.) ND uiuat ON MRY(.)IEM | |
| 6. PVS HMAR dis permittentibus fili | |
| 7. eius deuo ti posteru FRVNISCAN- | enjoy - |
| 8. TYR EV BONA FATO RONO | alas, of good fortune |
| b. Seu | Masin- |
| ere | then |
| | Sev- |
| | ero |
| | Masin- |
| | than |

I would follow Vattioni in translating these puni terms as follows:

5. C(.)nd: in the African onomatology appears as 'Cundot' (Gsell 3476) and 'Chinidial' (J.B. Chabot, Recuel des inscriptions libyques, Paris 1, 1952, 252). Mru: the Ugaritic (C.H. Gordon op.cit. 437) has a homophonous root nr (to order and to be fat, see J. Aistleitner, Worterbuch der ugaritischen Sprachen, Berlin 1963, 194). The second root 'fat animal' can be useful. Also MRA 'fat animal' is well attested in Hebrew.

6. pus: could be Latin "fossa".

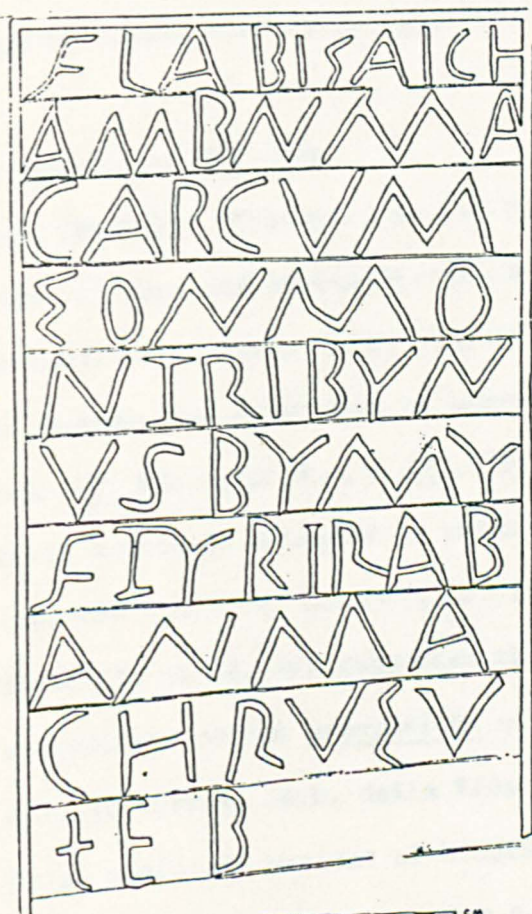
Hmar: See LP34, 6(?); Buxtorf 318, hmr: a part of this root means "fovea". 7/8. 'fruniscantur e(h)u bono fato' is Latin, where the verb fruniscor is the same as fruor, as seen in several medieval Latin manuscripts (see F. Vattioni Aug. 15 (1975) 1241). Bona

for bono.

LP.32. Bir ed-Dreder, R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3(1954)98, fig. 9=, 9b; see

IRT 886a; F. Beguinot, RSO 44 (1949)15; G. Levi della Vida, OA 2

(1963) 80s: Vattioni 46s; G.C. Polselli, SM, XI (1979), p.42.



This inscription reads:

1. FLABI SAICH-
2. AM BN MA-
3. CARCUM
4. SONMO-
5. N TRIBYN
6. VS BYMY-
7. SI YRIRAB-
8. AN MACHRVS V-
9. SEB

This inscription is from the necropolis of Bir ed-Dreder in the interior of Tripolitania. As it is a series of names its translation does not pose any difficulty. These proper names are: Flavius, Saicham, Macarcum, Sonmon, and Macrus.

2. Bn: it is not vowelized and it is one of the rare cases in this type of inscription (e.g. IRT, 906; R.G. Goodchild, cit.nn. 5,8 etc.)

Discussion of IRT 886a

5/6. TRYBVNVS: 'Tribunus' is the title of a Roman officer invested with military and administrative authority in a sector of the limes Tripolitanus. Their names suggest that they were native, and could be amongst the chieftains of Libyan tribes in the zone of the limes (eg. IRT 886 a,b,c,d,e,f; IRT 889; 865, Goodchild, 1976,68-69,70). Their authority extended to include justice and religious affairs (IRT 886 f;877;cf. Elmayer, LS. 14, 1983, 86-95).

Goodchild (ibid. 70) suggested that the tribune was the immediate subordinate of the praepositus of his region.

6/7. BYMYSIYIR: G.L. della Vida reads it as BYMYST and considered it as a dialect variant of MYNSYST 'stele'. F. Vattioni (AUG. 16, 1976, 545) reads BYMYFET and G.C. Polselli followed him in this reading and related BYMYFET to the punic MPT 'dignity' (DISO, p.164). But I think it reads BYMYSIYRIR. This term recurs in latino-punic inscriptions on funerary stelae found at the romano cemetery of Bir ed-Dreder in the interior of Tripolitania.

It is written in variant transcriptions as follows:

a) - BYMYSIYRIR	IRT 886a
b) - BMSIR	IRT 886b
c) - SIR	IRT 886d
d) - BYMSIR	IRT 886f
e) - BYMSIYRIR	IRT 886h

From our studies of these inscriptions we noticed that term BYMYSIYRIR (=BMSIR, BYMSIR, SIR) sometimes preceded by term TRIBVNVS and followed by term ABAN (IRT 886f). This induced us to suggest that TRIBUNUS BMSIR is equivalent to Latin PRAEPOSITUS LIMITIS which is known from the latin inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania (see IRT 14 880). The Praepositus limitis was responsible for the protection of a sector of the LIMES TRIPOLITANUS such as that at Gasr Duib S Zintan in the hinterland of Tripolitania (there were 12 PRAEPOSITI LIMITIS responsible for 12 zones of the limes -Not. Dig. Occ. 25,31)¹⁵. But as this term is not always preceded by TRIBUNUS we concluded that BYMSIR was likely to be 'stele' (Elmayer, 1983, 89). But this suggestion is still not convincing for several reasons. Firstly we find in these inscriptions terms which indicate stele, such as ABAN, (Cooke, North-Semitic Inscriptions, no.58.1) and ERS (Poen.vers.947) and there is no need to repeat the word stele in a successive way as in some of these inscriptions BYMYSIYRIR ABAN (IRT 886a); BYMSIR ABAN (IRT 886f); BYMSYRIR ABAN (IRT 886h). Secondly where ABAN is not used we find ERS (IRT 886b) and this could indicate that term ABAN is used to designate a stele in these inscriptions and there is no need to conjecture that BYMSIYRIR = stele. Thirdly the translation of BYMSIR ABAN as 'stele of stone' is not acceptable here.

However it seems that term BMSIR (or: BYMYSIYRIR) consists of two parts: a) - BYMY; BYM which are transcriptions of BM = BYN = son of (cf. C I S i, 112b.1;c.1,2; C I S i 840.3; DISO, p.37).

b) SIR (Or:SIYRIR): It could be a construct of phen. ŠR = prince (DISO, p.319; CIS i 287.5; 289.4; 294.5). This probably draws its confirmation from the fact that when the tribes joined the Roman service they were put under Roman officers, (praefecti, tribunes or decuriones) (AMM.Marc.xxiv.21,35;Cod.Th. xi.xxx.62; Augustine, epist 199; epist.46; Not.Dig.Oc. xxxiv.24) and such officers, some of whom were natives like those tribunes of Bir ed-Dreder, were amongst the chieftains of the dominant tribes in this zone of the limes near upper wadi Sofegin like tribes of Misaieruchan; Mycnei and Babar (IRT 886b;886f,886h).

The Cydamus tribes were transferred from being pactae to being foederatae and their indigenous chieftains were called PRINCIPES or Reguli and appointed by the Roman government, though their positions were hereditary (cf.Tac.Ann., IV;Ptolem.,1,8,5;1,10,2;Procop. Aedif.IV,3;Bel.Vand., V,7). As this title is hereditary it is usually carried by the eldest son of the chieftain (princeps) who might have been called BMSIR (=BYMYSIYRIR) = son of the prince. When he succeeded his father it seems that he may have kept the same title BMSIR. In these inscriptions we find the terms ŠIR and BYMSIYRIR used in the same way: MASICAMA BYN ISACHV TRIBUNUS SIR (IRT 886d), and :JULIUS NASIF TRIBUNUS BYMSIR (IRT 886f).

This probably suggests that ŠIR, BMSIR, BYMYSIYRIR = prince or 'son of the prince'. Also in Hebrew histārēr 'make oneself a prince'. From the evidence of the latino-punic inscriptions from Bir ed-Dreder (IRT 886b) it appears that a chieftain could be appointed as prince though he was not installed as a tribunus. But there was a possibility that he was entrusted with tribunes' authorities. L.8.

ABAN: -translates 'stone' (Cooke, NSI, 1903, p.150) and translates 'stele' as set up to the memory of the deceased (Cooke.Ibid.p.142 NP 66.1). Lines 8/9. VSEB: from NSB (to lay, raise, erect) (G.L. della Vida, OA2, 1963, p.90 n.49). Thus I would translate this inscription as follows: 'Flavius Saicham son of Machracum, Sonmon, Tribunus, Son of the prince, stele (which) Machrus erected'.

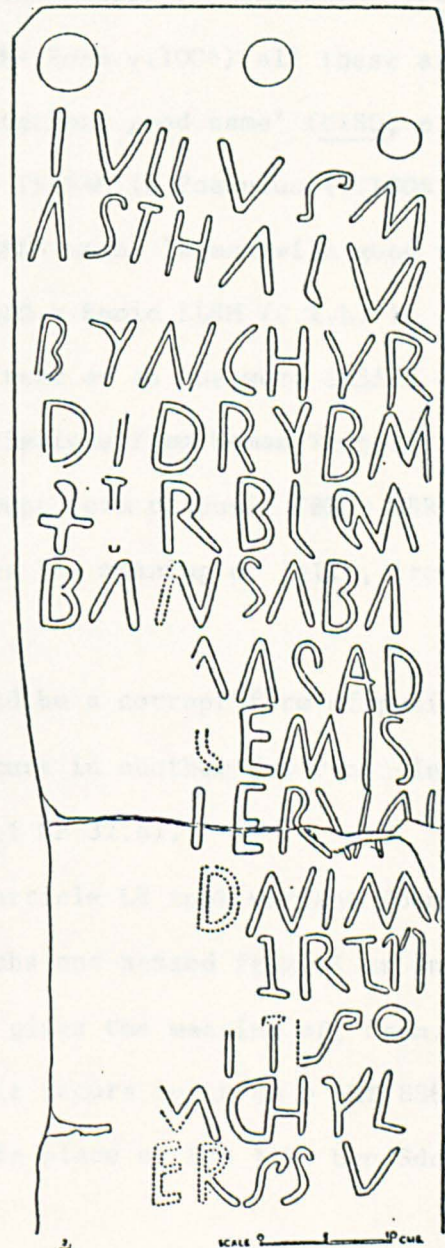
LP.33. = IRT 886b

(Bir ed-Dredr 2. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 1954) 99, fig.10a,10b;

F. Vattioni, AUG. 16 (1976) 545).

This inscription reads:

1. IULIVS M-
2. ASTHALVL
3. BEN CHYR-
4. DIDRY BM-
5. SIR BL SA-
6. MEN SABA-
7. RE MASAD-
8. (th) (1)EMIS-
9. (a)IERVCH-
10. (an) DNI M-
11. (sat)VP TH
12. (vy m)YSO
13. (rttr)M CHYL
14. (er)SS V
15. (seb)



A suggested translation is as follows:

'Julius Masthualul son of Chyrdidry, prince (who has) all the merits of a great man, from the tribe (or:family) of Misaieruchan, chief of military administration and justice, the whole stele has been erected'.

Discussion of IRT 886b:

Lines 1-4. As the first four lines are a series of names they don't pose any problem.

Lines 5/6. BL SAMEN: B L -translates 'chief', 'gentleman' (DISO, p.40)

SAMEN: samen (or SEM -IRT 886f; SAM- Poen.v.1006) all these are corrupt forms for Punic SM = 'reputation, good name' (DISO, p.306).

M.Szzyrmer, (1967, p.142) translated IS SAM in Poenulus (v.1006) as 'homme parfait'. In arabic RGL SAMEN means 'a man with good reputation'. In Latin inscriptions BALSAMO = Punic BLSM (C.I.L. 1, 2407).

Lines 6/7. SABA/RE: these letters read as as one word SABARE which recurs in other latino-punic inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania (IRT 886e, 889) and could be a corrupt form of punic ŠBR = ŠBRT (Elmayer, LS 14, 1984, 91) and gives the meaning of 'all', 'totally' (DISO, p.290 n.22).

Lines 7/8. MASAD/TH: masadyth could be a corrupt form of punic MAŠT 'merit' (DISO, p.163 n.9). It recurs in another Neo-Punic inscription from Tripolitania "M'S'" (App.1 NP 32.8).

Lines 8/9. LE MISAIERVCHAN: The article LE took variant forms (LI, LY, LU) during different epochs and passed from LI as in the Poenulus (vers.932) to LU, and LE gives the meaning of, from. It also transcript as LUL = from as it recurs in LP 40 = IRT 886h 'LVL BABART'. LVL could be used in place of BYN like byn Sdq, from

tribe (or:family) of Sdq (App.1 NP 6.3), byn Mycnei (LP .37 = IRT 886f). Punic LUL is used in Arabic as LYL = LEL = belong to, from: LEL Dorsa = from the tribe of Dorsa; LEL Iraq = belong to Iraq.

L. 10. DNI : it is clear a transcription of the Punic DNY which recurs in the Poenulus as DNNI (vers. 998, 1001) and translates 'master' (Sznycer, 1967, 141) and here gives the meaning of the Punic RB 'chief'. It recurs also in another inscription 'DNY=Chief (CIS, i, 121.2).

Lines 10/11. MSATYRTH: Punic MSATART = administration (DISO, p.170 n.20

Lines 11/12. VY MYSORTHIM: VY translates 'and' (Poen.vers.930).

MYSORTHIM: It could be a corrupt form of the Punic MYSYRTH = justice (Poen.vers. 933; DISO,p.150 n.11). It recurs in other Latino-punic inscriptions from the Romano-libyan cemetery of BIR ed-Dreder (IRT 886e;886f).

Line 13. CHYL: chyl = kil = all, hwole (Poen.vers. 935).

Line 14. ERSS: It could be a corrupt form of punic ERS - 'stele' (Poen.vers.947).

Lines 14/15. V [SEB] : - translates 'erected' (Levi della Vida, OA 2, 1963, 90 n.49) and here 'has been erected'.

LP.34. Bir ed-Dreder 3. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 100, fig. 11a. 11b; see IRT 886a, Vattioni, 1976, p.545-46.

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. [Fla]BIVS MAC a RCV- | (Flavio Mac(a)rcu- |
| 2. [m]OBM A TRIB | m trib- |
| 3. YN[us]Su RNIA | Su rnia |
| 4. IN DY | |
| 5. N | |
| 6. A HMA[r?]N | |
| 7. II PHR BS | |
| 8. MACARCUM TRIBV | Macarum tribune |
| 9. NVS OB R HYS | |
| 10. IS IV NTC BIVIM (?) | for his brother? |
| 11. IR IVS | he raised the tomb |

Transcription rather dubious.

2. Obm. See 1.9: ob.

6. Hma(r?) See LP.31, 6.

10. Bivim: b+uim, third person singular suffix?

11. Ir: ir=has raised; pus; see LP.30, 6: the tomb (the ditch).

LP.35. Bir ed-Dreder 4. R.G. Goodchile, QAL 3 (1954) 101, fig. 12a,12c;
see IRT 886d.

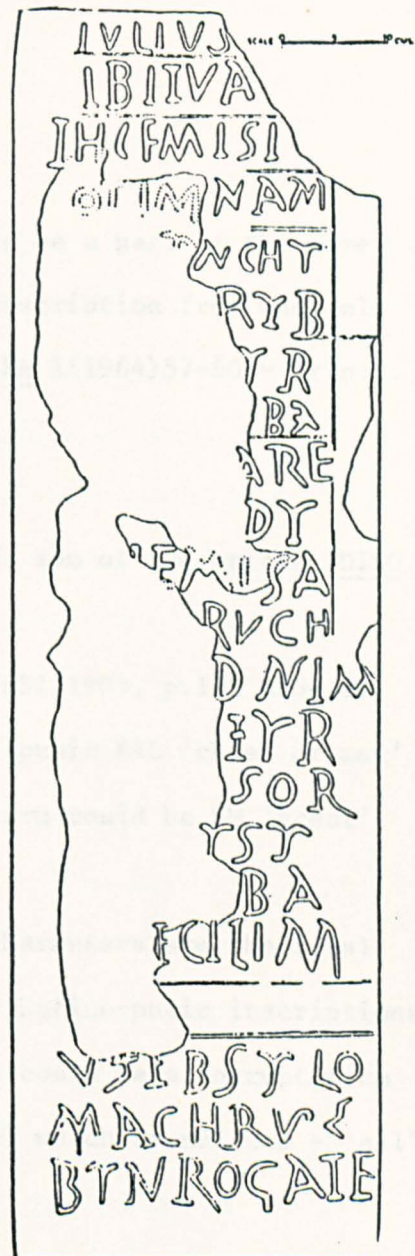
- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. MASICAMA | masicama |
| 2. BYN ISACHV | son of Isachu |
| 3. TRIBVNUS SIR | tribunus, prince' |

2. Isa chv: see Gsell 827 (Isac, Isacu). 3.

LP.36. Bir ed-Dreder 5. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 102, fig.13a,13b;
see IRT 886e F. Vattioni, AUG.16, 1976, 546.1.

This inscription reads:

1. IULIVS
2. IBITVA-
3. THIF MISI-
4. [RKAR BE]N AM-
5. [RR BE]N CHY-
6. [RDID]RY B-
7. [YMYSI]YR-
8. IR]ABAN BA-
9. [L SM] SABARE
10. MASADY-
11. [th] LEMISA-
12. [ie]RVCH-
13. [an]DNI M-
14. [sæ]TYR-
15. (th vy my)SOR-
16. [thim] YS SY
17. [....] BA-
18. (rr)ECILIM
19. [.... TIM?]
20. VSEB SYLO
21. MACHRVS
22. BEN ROGATE



A suggested translation is as follows:

'Julius Ibituathif Misirkar son of Amrr, son of Chyrdidry son of a prince, stele, (who has) all the merits of great man, from the family (or : tribe) of Misairuchan, chief of military administration and justice a man who god bless him, the stele (which) Machrus son of Rogatus completed (and) erected for him'.

Discussion of IRT 886e: Line 1. Julius: this name recurs in other inscriptions from Bir ed-Dreder (IRT 886b: 886f). Line 2/3. IBITUATHIF: a proper name. Lines 3/4. MISI: these four characters could be a part of the name MISIRKAR which recurs in different transcriptions in other inscriptions found at Breviglieri, near Sidi Ali ben Zaid (IRT 887a:

MASIERKAR).

Lines 4/5. AM: These two characters could be a part of the name Amrr which transcribed as Ymrr in a NP. inscription from wadi el-Amud in the limes zone (Levi della Vida, LA 1(1964)57-60 = Tripol. 38.2).

Lines 5/6: CHYRDIDRY: a proper name.

Lines 6/7: BYMYSIYRIR: translates 'prince, son of the prince' (DISO p.319; cf. IRT 886a; RES 296.4,5).

Line 8: ABAN -translates 'stele' (Cooke, NSI, 1903, p.142 NP66.1).

Lines 8/9. BA- could be the first part of punic BAL 'chief or man' (poen.1027; DISO, p.40) and the following term could be SM 'great' (poen.v.1006, 1027; DISO, p.306).

Line 9:ARE: It is clear that these characters are the final part of term ŠABARE which recurs in other Latino-punic inscriptions from the limes zone (IRT 886b; 889) and it could be a corrupt form of the Punic ŠBR (Elmayer, LS, 14, 1983, 91) which translates - 'all' (DISO, p.290 n.22).

Lines 10/11. MASADYTH: It could be a corrupt form of the Punic M' S', meaning - 'merit' (DISO, p.163 n.9 = Tripol.32.8) and it recurs in another Latino-punic inscription (see IRT 886b).

Lines 11/12/13. LE MISAIERVCHAN: Le + Misaieruchan: from + 'tribe' (or: family) of Misaieruchan (see LP.33. 8/9 = IRT 886b).

Lines 13. DNI: punic DONNI (Poen.vers.998) -translates 'master' (Szynger, 1967, 141) = chief. It recurs in IRT 886b.10.

Lines 13/14/15. MSATYRTH: It could be punic MŠTRT, meaning - 'administration' (DISO, p.170 n.20). It recurs in IRT 886b.

Lines 15/16. VY MYSORTHIM: VY + MYSORTHIM : vy - translates - 'and' (Poen.vers.930). MYSORTHIM: It is a corrupt form of the Punic

MYSYRTH = justice (Poen.vers.933; DISO, p.150 n.11). It recurs in IRT 886b.

Lines 16/17. .. YS SY: YS - translates 'man' (Poen.vers.935)

SY: - relat.pron.Š - translates 'who' (Poen.vers.935).

Lines 17/18. BARRECILIM: It consists of two parts BARREC + ILIM BARREC; It is derived from the root BRK = bless (cf. Poen.vers.931; DISO, p.44). ILIM=elim=god (Levi Della Vida, 1927 92-93;=IRT 349a). Therefore it gives the meaning of "gods bless him".

Line 19. VSEB: useb -translates 'erected' (Levi della Vida, OA 2, 1963,90, n.49).

Line 19. SYLO: sylo -translates 'which is for him' (Poen.933; Szyncer,1967,72).

Line 20. MACHRVS: Machrus: a proper name (see IRT 869).

Line 21. BEN ROGATE: ben Rogatus: ben: - 'son'. Rogatus- a proper name. It recurs in another inscription from Roman Tripolitania (see Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 83 = Libya 3,1927,108).

LP.37. = IRT 886f

This is one of the inscriptions found at the Romano-Libyan cemetery of Bir ed-Dereder and published by R.G. Goodchild (QAL.3, 1954,103 fig.14a,14a,14b. = IRT 886f; F. Vattioni, Aug.16,1976,547.

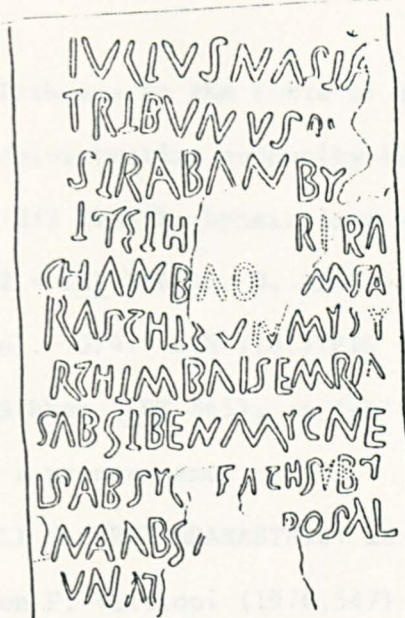


FIG. 14b - STELE N. 6

I would read and translate this inscription as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. IVVIVS NASIF | Julius Nasif |
| 2. TRIBUNISCBYM] | Tribunus Princ- |
| 3. SIR ABAN BYN | e-Stele son of |
| 4. IYEIHAN RIRA | Jyeihan Rira- |
| 5. CHAN BCALJMSA | Chan, Chief of Adm- |
| 6. RASTHIE VY MYSY | inistration and just- |
| 7. RTHIM BAL SEM RM | ce, great man (and) great |
| 8. SABSI BEN MYCNE | soldier, from the tribe of |
| | Mycne- |
| 9. I SABSY[V]FATHSY BY- | I, war-like people and |
| | victorious, |
| 10. N AABSM[UN]CRJOSA L | byn Abdsmon the Great 1- |
| 11. VN [SN] | ived years.... |

Discussion of IRT 886f.

1. IULIUS: a proper name which recurs in other inscriptions from Bir ed-Dreder (IRT 886b, 886e). NASIF: a proper name recurs in another Latino-punic inscription from Tripolitania (IRT 906.1).

1. TRIBUNUS: Tribunus is the title of a Roman officer invested with military and administrative authority in a sector of the limes Tripolitanus. 2/3 BYMSIR: bymsir 'son of the prince' (or:prince) (see above LP32 = IRT 886a). 3. ABAN -translates 'stele' (above LP32 = IRT 886e). 3/4. BYN I(J?)YEIH (AN) : son of Jyeihan, probably like Sihhan (IRT 865), as 'sh' could be transcribed J. 4/5. RIRACHAN: a proper name.

Lines 5/6. B(AL) (or:RB) MSARASTHIE: In his attempt to translate this inscription F. Vattioni (1976,547) related SARASTHIE to the verb seres radicari, radices agire (to root) and he sees in THI a third pers.sing. suffix. But MSARASTHIE could be a corrupt form of punic ^vMSRT = 'administration' (or: military ordnance: el-Hofra 74.2;75.3;76.2;DISO p.170 n.20). The last two characters read VY: -translates 'and' (Poen.930). 6/7. It recurs in other Latino-punic inscriptions (IRT 886b;886e) MYSYRTHIM: Punic MYSYRTH 'justice' (Poen.933; DISO,p.163 n.14). 7. BAL: 'chief, gentleman' (DISO,p.40) here as the tribuni in the zone of the limes of Roman Tripolitania were from the chieftains of the Libyan tribes BAL could mean a 'chieftain' here. It recurs in (IRT 886b, 886e).

7. SEM -translates 'gentleman', 'great' (DISO, p.40), here BAL SEM gives a meaning 'great man'. 7. RM: eminent, great (see SMM RMM in DISO, p.280 n.32). 8. SABSI: 'military', 'soldier' (F. Vationi, 1976, 547). 8/9. BEN MYCNEI: from the tribe (or:family) of Myceni. It is probably comparable to BN Sdq = 'from the tribe or family of Sdq' (G.L. Della Vida, RAL,VIII, 8,1963,pp.486-69; Append.1.NP 42). The names of this tribe perhaps derived from the name of the famous tribe 'Macaе' who took part with the Carthaginians in the expulsion

of the Greeks from Kinyps (Herodotus, V.42)

9. SABSY: probably describes this tribe and its members as famous for their military service or as war-like people. They inherited that from their ancestors the Garamantes and Nasamones who were famous for their warlike character (Herodotus, V 174-184). Also in later times the tribes who lived in the same zone were aggressive and war-like. The Roman poet Corippus describes the warriors from the Tripolitanian tribe "Ilaguas" (Iohann.II.109) as cruel and brave, and tells how they would threaten the whole region, depending on their god Gurzil to ensure victory on the Byzantines during their revolution in A.D. 546. "Conuenit innumeris numquam superatus Ilaguas/milibus, et totum uolitans conterritat orbem/(2.87-88); 'horrida gens et dura uiris, audaxque triumphis/innumeris, nullo bellis quae tempore cessat/impia, crudelis.....Ierna ferox his ductor erat, Gurzilque sacerdos' (ibid.2,102-104,109).

9. V FATHSY : V = and (Poen.v.930). FATHSY: It could be a corrupt form of FHS= FHST=victorious (DISO, p.226 n.36).

9/10. BYN AABSMUN:Byn 'son of' Abd-Esmunis= is a proper noun.

10. ROSA : It could be derived from the root R'S = 'head' and it signifies greatness, eminence (cf.DISO, p.283 n.15).

10/11. LVN/LWN= "passer la nuit", (DISO, p.136). In this inscription it has the meaning of 'lived' (cf. G.C. Polsell, SM, 11, 1979, p.41). It recurs in another inscription (IRT 886.6=LP.39).

LP.38. Bir ed-Dreder 7. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 100, see IRT 886g.

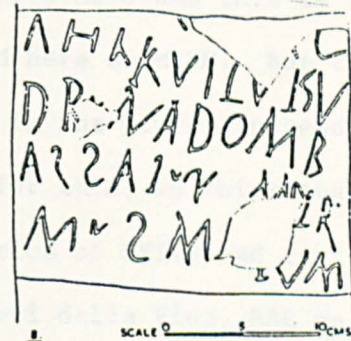
1.
2. IMNVS
3. NIMIRA
4. BVN

Nimira
son

3. Nimira: see LP 41; Nimmira, CIL VIII, 22660; Nimira CIL VIII, LP.39. = IRT 886 = R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 104, fig. 15a.15b; F. Vattioni, AUG., 16 (1976) 547.

This inscription reads:

1.CHIRS
2. AHLKVT LY ISV
3. DRYN ADMB-
4. AL SAIYN NFS
5. MYSM
6. LVN



I would translate it as follows:

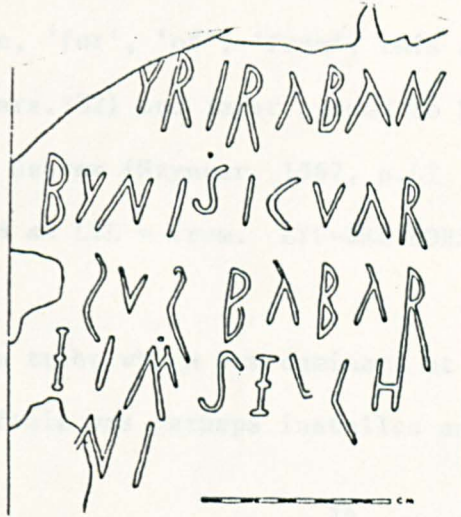
"Stele of hospitality (or: memorial stele) for Isudryn Adombal Saiyn. soul (or monument) of a deceased [years?]lived".

1. CHIRS: from close examination of this inscription it seems that the first letter from this word is C and the last one is S, and as we know from the Poenulus that CHIRS AELICHOT (v.937) = TESSERAM HOSPITALEM and AELICHOT= AHLKUT (or: AHELKUT) (Sznycer, PPP, p.90,128), and as the term AHLKUT succeeds the term which consists of letters beginning with C and ending in S. Therefore it must be CHIRS='stele', which suits the meaning of the context here. This expression recurs in the Poenulus as ERS AHELICOT = "stele of hospitality" (ver.947).

2. LY : LY = for (Poen.ver.938; cf. Sznycer, PPP, p.103).
- 2/3. ISVDRYN: a proper name.
- 3/4. ADOMBAL: a proper name like Adonbal.
4. SAIYN (or: ZAIYN): a proper name.
4. NFS: A soul (or:monument) of the deceased (Levi della Vida, RAL, VIII, IV, 1963, 407-410, Tripol. 34³).
5. MYSM : It could be a corrupt form of MYTHEM. Levi della Vida pointed out that MYTHEM is the plural of MYTH (Hebrew MET, as it appears in IRT 828.2. (AO 2, 1963, 84-85). The pronunciation of taw and th sometimes transcribed wrongly as S and this is the reason for which MYTHEM is transcribed here as MYSM. But the problem posed here: why it is transcribed in the plural instead of the singular? As we have no explanation for this, we think that it is a result of an error in the transcription of MYTH=dead (or:deceased). Thus MYSM= MYTH = MT = deceased (A. Levi della Vida, RAL op.cit., Tripol.34³).
5. LVN/LWN : it means "passer la nuit" (DISO p.136 n.43), which gives the meaning of 'lived' (cf. G.C. Polselli, SM 11, 1979,p.41).
- LP.40. Bir ed-Dreder 9. F. Beguinot, RSO 24 (1949) 15; R.G. Goodchild. QAL 3 (1954) 105, fig. 16a, 16b. see IRT 886h.

This inscription reads:

1. (names....?)
2. (TRIBVNVS? BM)
3. SIYRIR ABAN
4. BYN ISICVAR
5. (I) LVL BABAR
6. TIN ST LH-
7. NI



Discussion of IRT 886h

This inscription is one of the Latino-punic inscriptions on funerary stelae found at the cemetery of Bir ed-Dreder (45km SE of Mizda).

It seems that some lines are missing from this inscription due to the damage caused to the stone. From our study of this type of inscription specially those of Bir ed-Dreder, we suggest that the first line is just a series of names and the second consists of term 'tribunus' which usually preceeds the term BMSIRIR (LP.37= IRT 886f). R.G. Goodchild (1976,70) pointed out that the Latino-punic inscriptions of Bir ed-Dreder date to the fourth century A.D.

I would translate this inscription as follows: '.....tribunus, prince, stele, son of Isicuari from Babar tribe, erected this stele here'.

2/3. BMSIYRIR : This term translates 'prince' or 'son of the prince' (RES 296. 4,5; DISO, p.319 n.25; LP.32 = IRT 886a (above).

4. BYN ISICVARI : son of Isicuri and it recurs in (IRT 886k).

Other Libyan names attested in Tripolitania inscriptions (IRT 867, 902).

5. LVL : lul = genitive case, 'for', 'of', 'from', this article was first written as Li (poen.vers.932) and later passed to LU (poen.vers. 942) which is used in Hebrew (Szyncer, 1967, p.62). In the Libyan dialect is still used as LYL = from. LYL=LEL DORSA= from the tribe of Dorsa.

BABAR : It could be a Libyan tribe which was dominant at the zone of Bir ed-Dreder, and its chieftain was perhaps installed as tribune of this zone.

6. TIN - translates 'erect' (Vattioni, 1976, p.548)¹⁶

6. ST=SYTH- translates 'this' (Poen.v.930, 940, App.1. NP 13.1).

'MACOMSYTH' 'This sanctuary' (Poen.Ibid.,) . It is attested in other inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania (IRT 886k).

6/7. LHNI: Punic YNNYNNU=HNNY which gives the meaning of "here am I" (Poen.vers.939). Also in Hebrew= hinnenni gives the same meaning. This term LHNI is still used in Libyan Arabic dialect and translates 'here' as in 'TAGADM LHNA' 'come here'.

LP.41. Bir ed-Dreder 10. R.G. Goodchild. QAL 3 (1954) 102: they are only legible.

....MIRATH.... TRI(BV)NVS

LP.42. Bir ed-Dreder 11. R.G. Goodchild. QAL 3 (1954) 102. they are only legible.

LP.43. Bir ed-Dreder 12. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 102. Illegible.

LP.44. Bir ed-Dreder 13. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 106, fig.17a,17b;

IRT 886j.

1. FLABIV-
2. S MASIN-
3. [TH]AN[TR]I
4. [B] VNV [S]

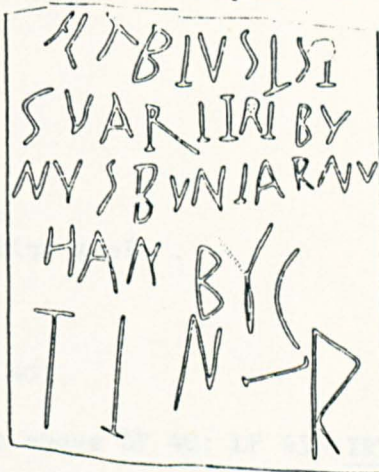
Flaviv-
S Masin-
th an tribune,
prince

LP.45. Bir ed-Dreder 14. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954), fig.12.12b;

IRT 886k.

From close examination of the photograph of this inscription we could read it as follows:

1. FLABIVS ISI-
2. CVARI TRIBV-
3. NVS BYMSIR A-
4. BAN
5. TIN ST



A suggested translation is as follows:

'Flavius Isicuari, tribunus, prince, erected this stele'.

Discussion of IRT 886k

Line 3. BYMSIR -translates 'prince' or 'son of the prince' (cf. RES 296.4,5; DISO, p.319; above LP 32= IRT 886a.6/7).

Lines 3/4. ABAN -translates 'stele' (Cooke, NSI, (1903) p.142 n.54; above LP 32.7/8 = 886a).

Line 5. TIN -translates 'erected' (F.Vattioni, 1976, p.548). It recurs in other Latino-punic inscriptions from Bir ed-Dreder (in Tripolitania (LP 40.6 = IRT 886h; LP 48.4 = R.G. Goodchild QAL 3 (1954) 106).

Line 5. ST -translates 'this' and as ST = SYTH (M. Szynger, 1967, 53-55), it finds its explanation in Poenulus MACOM SYTH 'this sanctuary' (v.930).

LP.46. Bir ed-Dreder 15. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 103: a few letters visible.

LP.47. Bir ed-Dreder 16. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 103: one can only read BYN IEDO son of Iedo

LP.48. Bir ed-Dreder 17. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 106, fig.18a.18b.

1. FL AB
2. I BVN VA-
3. SIRA BAB-
4. AR TIN ST (17)

Translation:

'Flavius son of Usira Babar erected (this) stele'.

Discussion:

Line 3. BABAR.: a Libyan tribe (see LP 40).

Line 4. TIN - translates 'erected' (see above LP 40; LP 45 = IRT 886h, 886k). ST - translates 'this' (see above LP 40 = IRT 886h; LP 45 = IRT 886k).

LP.49 Bir ed-Dreder 18. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 103: there remain a few letters only.

LP.50. Bir ed-Dreder 19. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 103.

1.KAYSNIS MV
2.BEATINOM
3.EKYC
4.DVC

LP.51. Bir ed-Dreder 20. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 103: illegible.

LP.52. Bir ed-Dreder 21. R.G. Goodchild, QAL 3 (1954) 107, fig. 19a, 19b.

1. I M
2. I I HIM
3. IACH
4. IFRUSSA
5. IYYICAV
6. I I SY DUBRE
7. APA

Reading and translation uncertain: see LP 58, 4.

LP.53. Wadi Umm el Agerem. J. Reynolds, PBSR 23 (1955) 141; G. Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 75ss; Vattioni 54s; C. Krahmalkov, JSS (1972) 70s; see F. Vattioni, (Aug 11 (1971) 184.), Vattioni, Aug., 16 (1976)549).

1. MASAVCAN UY SISAN
2. FELV LABVNOM IYLLVL
3. BYNEM (V)MILTH(E) VYARI-
4. VNOM ANOBAL B(Y)NE M(ASAV)
5. CHAN ANOBAL CHAROS S

I would translate this inscription as follows:

'Masauchan and Sisan made a memorial stele for their father Iyllul son of Umilythe and Ariunom Anobal, son of Masauchan Anobal'.

Discussion:

1. Masauchan, a proper name which recurs in other Latino-punic inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania (IRT 906.2). VY = UY -translates 'and' (Poen.v.944). SISAN, a proper name and it recurs in another inscription from Tripolitania (IRT 893.5). 2. - FELV, 'they made' it is an inflected form of the root FEL, which can be found in the Tripolitanian corpus (IRT 906.1; 989.2). LABVNOM, L + ABVNOM = L -translates 'for' and it finds its explanation in these punic inscriptions : L^hMM 'for his mother' (CIS i 151.5) and L HT^hMM 'for the sister of his mother' (see above Append.1; NP 29. 2f.).

Line 2. ABVNOM, this was taken by G.L. Della Vida as 'their brother' (OA 2, 1963,75), but as the relationship of IYLLUL and MASAUCHAN as father and son is stated in the text (IRT 906) Krahmalkov (JSS, XV, 1970,p.184) translated LABVNOM as 'for their father' (ibid.). IYLLVL: IYLLUL, a proper name and it recurs in another inscription

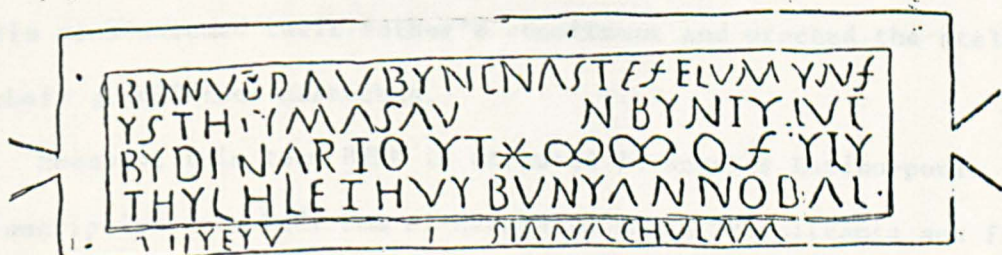
from Roman Tripolitania (IRT 906.2). Line 3. BYNEM, this term is understood by F. Vattioni as 'for their son' (Aug. 16, 1976, 549). But it could be a variant transcription of BINIM 'son of' (cf. Poen. v.936; IRT 889.1), which suits the context.

Line 3. (V)MILTHER, a proper name recurs in another inscription from Tripolitania (IRT 827.3). Lines 3/4. VY, conj. -translates 'and' It recurs in other inscriptions from Tripolitania (IRT 886f.6; 989.1; Bartoccini, AI, 1927, 232-236). ARIVNOM, a proper name and as VMILYTHE is a woman's name (Krahmalkov, JSS, 17, 1972, 72), therefore Arivnom is name of IYLLUL's father. 4. ANOBAL, a proper name and recurs in other inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania (IRT 906, 319, 321, 322).

Line 5. CHAROS S : CHAROS + S, CHAROS could be a corrupt form of Punic CHIRS -translates 'stele' (Poen. 937; Vattioni, 1976, 549).

5. S, perhaps abbreviation of the Punic SKR = ZKR = memorial (see Hoftijer, 1960, 77 n.35). It finds its explanation in MSBT SKR - translates memorial stele (CIS i 116).

LP.54. Wadi Umm el-Agerem. J. Reynolds, PBSR 23 (1955) 141s, Pl. XXXIII; IRT 906 (incomplete copy); G. Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 71-74; C. Krahmalkov, JSS 17 (1972) 70; Vattioni, AUG, 16 (1976), 550. This inscription was found in the area of wadi Umm el-Gereem, a tributary of wadi Zemzem. The following poor photograph is published in IRT 906.



From careful examination of a photograph Levi della Vida could read this inscription as follows:

THANVBDAVBYNENASIFFELVMYNS
YSTH[.]YMASAVCHANBYNIYLV
BYDENARIO YL*~CSYLY
THYCHLETHVYBVNYANNOBAL
[.]CHYLYV~V[.]BYLBSDIANACHIVLAM

He translated it as follows:

'Thanubda (Thanubra?) e suo figlio Nasif hanno fatto una stele
a (o: la stele di) Masauchan filio di Iylul con denari circa
Annobal agguinse denari mille.....?'

Discussion of IRT 906

Miss Reynolds read the opening line as "Thanubdau son of Nasif". Levi della Vida translated it as "Thanubda and her son Nasif" and suggested that Thanubda is a scribal error for Thanubra (CIL.VIII, 22758). Friedrich accepts Levi della Vida's analysis of BYNE as "her son" and cites it as an example of a substantive with third feminine singular suffix. (Friedrich, Phönizisch-punische grammatik, Rome, 1970, 112). Krahmalkov pointed out that the final morpheme (-e) in BYNE could be the plural morpheme of the masculine construct plural noun. He translated it as "Thanubda and the sons of Nasif". He argued that it could be that Nasif died before the fulfilment of the promise which he made in association with his mother Thanubda. His sons assumed their father's commitment and erected the stele to their grandfather Masauchan.

However, this term BYNE is attested in another Latino-punic inscription from Wadi Umm el-Gereem in Roman Tripolitania and from

the context of the text it translates 'son of'. The relevant portion of the text as it published by J. Reynolds (PBSR 23 (1955) 141) is as follows: 'Line 3/4/5. .. VY ARIVNOM ANOBAL B(Y)NE M(ASAV) CHAN...'

... and Ariunom son of Masauchan...'

1. FELV: they made (IRT 989.2) it recurs in LP.56 n.2).
2. MYNSYTH:= MNSBT = MSBT = 'stele' (LP.2 n.1 = IRT 828; DISO, p.164 n.30).
2. MASAUCHAN: a proper name recurs in another punic inscription from Tripolitania (LP.53 n.1).
3. IYLUL : a proper name recurs in other inscriptions (LP.53.n.1)
3. BY DENARO : BY = with (Poen.vers.933). DENARIO = lat.Denarius, Punic plur. DN RJ³ (Levi della Vida, RIV. Trip., 3, 1927, 99-105; DISO, p.59,n.37).
3. YL -translates 'about' (Levi Della Vida, OA 2, 1963,73). It also could be YT (IRT 906.3) = YTH =³T -translates 'with' (cf.Poen. 937; DISO, p.29). 3. FELV, they paid (above lin.1).
4. THYCHLETH, could be a construct of Punic TKLT 'accomplishment' (DISO, p.28). 4. BVNY : G.L. Della Vida (OA 2, 1963) reading BVNY 'builder' still deserves consideration. F. Vattioni translated it as 'my son', but does not suit the meaning as the dedicant third person.
5. (Y)CHYL: ychyl = ykl = 'paid', 'added' (cf. L. della Vida, OA 2, 1963, 74; Vattioni, AUG. 16, 1976,550).
6. BYLBSDI: bylbsdi = 'in association with' which suits the context.
6. ANACHULAM: Anachulam is a proper name, and it recurs in other inscriptions and in variant transcriptions such as 'Hanochulam' (J. Reynolds, PBSR, 28, 1960, 53 n.5 = LP.55; and 'Chulam' (IRT

898).

Thus I would translate this inscription as follows:

'Thanubda and his son Nasif have made the stele for Masauchan son of IYLUL with a sum of 2100 denars (which) they paid for the accomplishment, and the builder Annobal added 1000 and (sum?) in association with Anachulam'.

LP.55: Gasr Isawi. Wadi Migdal. O. Brogan. J. Reynolds, PBSR 28 (1960) 53, nr. 5, Pl.19.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Marcius Metasan | |
| 2. Fidelis filius et Fl (abi?) H- | |
| 3. anochulam et Sei- | ano chulam and Sei |
| 4. c... et Fidel is nepo- | ch am |
| 5. t es SSIPSA Flabiae (?) | |
| 6. et PVIII hanc I ... ulam | |
| 7. instituerunt .. V i et | |
| 8. SDP . VIS bibant | |
| 9. NYMYSAGEN PVV BUNOM | Nymysagentheir son(?) |
| 10. MRS YS YNAV. YS FELV MBVL | have made |
| 11. AYBYD BANNOM | the slave of their son |

This inscription is unintelligible.

LP.56. M. Szczyner; in GLECS 10 (1965) pp.100-101; F. Vattioni in AION, ns 16 (1966) pp.45-46; (Idem. AUG.16, 1976), G. Levi della Vida, in AION, ns. 17 (1967) p.263; C.R. Krahmalkov, in JAOS, 93 (1973) pp.61-64; G. Garbini; SM VI (1974) p.16; G. Polsell, OA, B, 1976, pp.237-38, A.F. Elmayor, LS 14 (1983)86-95; Idem LS 15 (1984): ..

This inscription was found over the door of Gasr wadi el-Bir near Shemech (Wadi Soffeggin). Now in Lepcis Museum. It consists of three lines and it reads:

1. FLABI DASAMA VY BINIM
2. MACRINE FELV CENTENARI BALARS
3. SVMAR NAR SABARE SAVN



Translation:

"Flavi(us) Dasama and his son Macrenus, landowners, have made (this) centenarium to guard and protect the whole *zone*."

Comments:

FLABI : Flavius is a proper name, and V was usually substituted by B.

1. DASAMA : M. Sznycer¹⁸ reads this name as : Flavi Dasamav v binim", while F. Vattioni¹⁹ reads : "Flabi Dasama vy binim".

As the conjunctions U=UY, both readings are acceptable.²⁰

C.R. Krahmalkov²¹ saw in the first two letters from Dasama (DA) a Libyan conjunction. But his suggestion is not supported by the evidence. Levi della Vida²² followed M. Sznycer in his reading and interpretation of this inscription, and G. Garbani²³ accepted both of them. As a matter of fact there are some Libyan families, especially Berbers who still bear names similar to DASAMAU such as Tasamau and Nisamau. But we cannot decide here that DASAMA is not a proper name.

1. V BINIM : V + BINIM. V = and, it finds its explanation in Poenulus ALONIM U ALONUTH = Latin 'does deasque' = 'gods and goddesses' (v.930). BINIM : 'his son', the noun is nominative in case, and the suffix -IM was usually added, in earlier stage of the language to the noun "only when in genitive".²⁴

2. MACRINE : a proper name = Macrinus.

2. FELV : "they made" it is an inflected form of the root FEL which can be found in the Tripolitanian corpus²⁵ : FEL "he made"²⁶ FELA

"she made"²⁷.

2. CENTENARI : it is a military position (or: block house) whose name is connected with the centurion or with the century. The ruins of some of these centenaria still can be seen in the zone limes Tripolitanus. These centenaria are known to the Libyans by the name of Gsur which means 'palaces'. The word gsr (singular) probably came from the Latin CASTRUM, or, as I said, from Arabic gsr. These gsr were called by Goodchild fortified farm-houses. These centuria were looked after by regular troops and were placed in easily defended positions and built so as to offer maximum security in case of attack.²⁸

2. BAL ARS : G. Levi della Vida says that Fevrier could recognize BALHRS, which is well known in Hebrew as haras and attested in punice. (CIS I 3914), and suggested that it means "contractor" or "architect". It also gives the meaning of "chief artisan" (DISO, p.40).

In my previous interpretation I took BAL ARS as RB¹RS 'commander of the district' (DISO, p.271, n.10). But this does not seem correct for several reasons: Firstly it does not seem that Flavius Dasama and his son were military commanders or princeipes like the tribunes of Bir ed Dreder (Appendix, II, LP. 32,37; cf. IRT 886a,b,d,f,h). Secondly the participation of a father and his son in construction of this fortified farm house indicates that it was a private property and they would only build it on land which they owned. Thirdly in the same period some landowners constructed similar buildings, in the limes zone, to protect their actual inhabitants (IRT 894a; Goodchild, libyan studies, 1976, 112; Brogan, LA 13-14, 1983, 127). Therefore

BAL could translate 'owner' (DISO, p.40) and ARS could be a corrupt form of ARS 'land' (DISO, p.25 n.47). Thus term BAL ARS could translate 'landowners' which suits the context.

3. SVMAR : to guard (cf. DISO, p.310).

3. NAR : it could be a corrupt form of Punic NŠR = to protect (DISO, p.185 n.24). Thus SVMAR (W) NAŠR 'to guard and protect' (RES 20.1).

3. SABARE: It could be a corrupt form of the Phoenician ŠBR = šbrt, which gives the meaning of 'whole' (DISO, p.290 n.22).

4. SAVN : In Hoftijzer (DISO, p.30, 35, we find the meaning of this term as a name of a place. SWN BJRT = the fortress of SWN (DISO, p.35 n.5). BSWN BJRT = in the fortress of SWN (DISO, p.30 n.33). RB HJL ZJ SWN = the commander of the garrison of SWN (DISO, p.271, n.12). In my previous interpretation (loc.cit) I suggested that SAVN means 'Zone' which in Latin implies the presence of a 'belt' or a boundary surrounding the landowners holding.

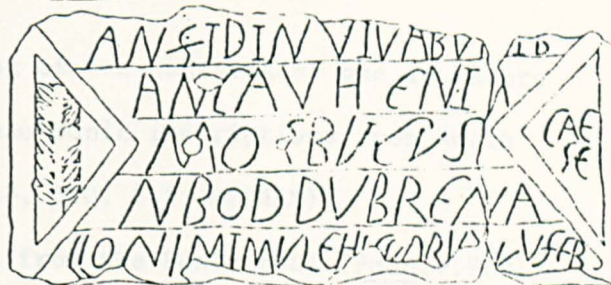
LP.57. Gasr Es-suq el-oti (Sofeggin). IRT 890.

(....
VY (...)BA(.....)A
(...)ID(.....)HAN

LP.58. Gasr el-Ureia. IRT 892, R.G. Goodchild, The Antiquaries Journal. 30 (1950) 1395. Tpl. XVIIb; F. Vattioni, 16 Augustinianum, 1976, 551.

This inscription reads as follows:

1. AN SIDIN VIVA BVN IB-
2. AN CAVHENI CAE-
3. MOS BYCVS SE-
4. N BOD DVBREN A-
5. LLONIM IMVLEH ISDRINY VSEB



A suggested translation is as follows:

'Ansidin Viva son of Iban, the priest, consecrated (this) small statue (or:stele) to the worship of the gods, Imuleh Isdriny erected it'.

Discussion of IRT 892.

1. ANSIDIN : a proper name. It recurs in a different spelling, 'SIDEN', in another Latino-punic inscription (IRT 826.1) from a Severan fort at Lepcis Magna.

The frequency of misspelling in the Tripolitanian inscriptions is cogently accounted for by G.L. Della Vida (OA 2,1963,69):
'ha poi l'impressione che non di raro il lapicida, del tutto ignaro del valore delle lettere che incideva abbia copiato inesatamente il modello affidatogli dall'ordinatore' (ibid.).

1. VIVA : a proper name (see CIL VIII, 22663 IRT 893.1).

1. BVN : son of (cf. Friedrich ZDMG cvii287; DISO, p.37).

- 1/2. IBAN : a proper name.

Line 2 - CAVHENI : It could be a construct from Punic KHN - 'priest' (DISO, p.116). 3. MOS : punic MŠ - translates 'statue or 'stele' (DISO, p.168). 3. BVCVS could be the construct from the Punic 'tic' 'little' or 'small' (DISO, p.36 n.30), Latin paucus. It recurs in an inscription from Gsar at Brevigilieri, near sidi Ali ben Zaid in the interior of Tripolitania (BVCV: IRT 877.7.)

3/4 CAESEN : It gives the meaning of 'to consecrate' and it recurs in variant transcriptions in greco-punic inscriptions from North Africa (ILA 2.506 : EYXAN ; 2.508, 510, 518: EYXHAN).

4. BOD: bod could be a construct from the Punic BODI (Poen.v.939) which P. Schroder (1869, 285) translates as 'of'. In Hebrew 'bead' 'on behalf of'.

4. DVBREN : dubren could be derived from the (root) DBR 'to say' (DISO, p.55). It recurs in another inscription from the fourm of Lepcis Magna and gives the meaning of 'affairs' which suits the context : KTBT DBR HBT 'document concerning family affairs' (G.L. Della Vida, Rend.Acc.Lin.⁸, IV, 400-408=IRT 338). Thus DVREN ALONIM translates "gods affairs" = worship of gods. Punic inscription from Roman Tripolitania attests that believers used to construct and dedicate votive statues to their divines : M'S ELIM S P'R 'divine statue of marble' (G.L. Della Vida, PBSR XIX, 1951, 65-68).

4/5. ALLONIM : It is a corrupt form of ALONIM 'gods', which finds its explanation in Poenulus ALONIM V ALONUTH 'gods and goddesses' (v.930).

5. IMULEH: Imuleh was taken by F. Vattioni as 'sacrifice' (1976,551), but we think it is a proper name. 5. ISVDRINY : Isudriny = a proper name, which recurs in another Latino-punic inscription from Tripolitania (IRT 886. 2/3). 5. VSEB: vseb from nsb 'erected' (G.L. Della Vida, OA 2, 1963,90 n.49).

LP.59. IRT 893

This inscription was first recorded and published by de Mathusieulx from the gate of gasr EL-AZAIZ in the wadi Merdum in the interior of Tripolitania. It is also recorded as C.I.L. 8.22664. The text was

first discussed by G. Levi Delle Vida OA 2 (1963, 90), F. Vattioni AUG 16, (1976, 552) and latterly by myself (Elmayer, LS 14 (1983, 91). Later a clear photograph of the inscription was published by Olwen Brogan (Libya Antiqua vol.13-14) and I could read it as follows:

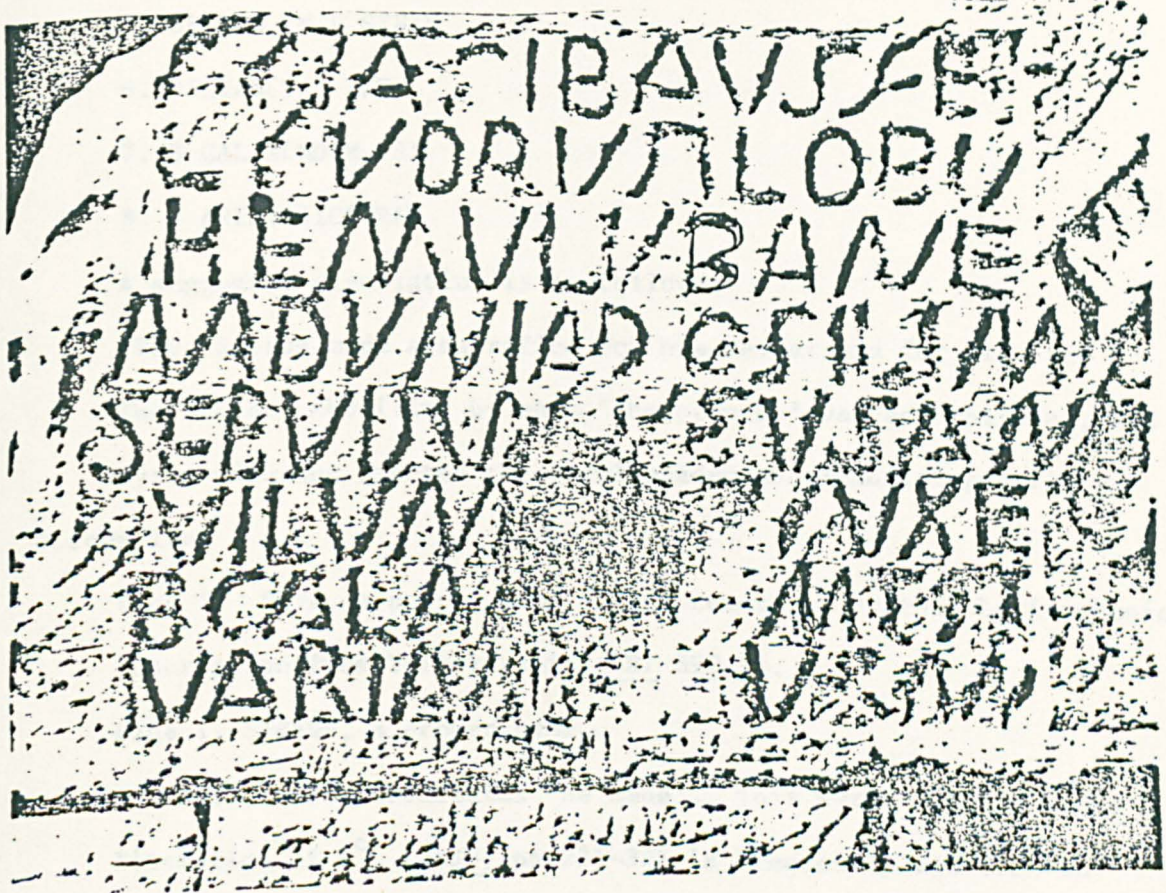


Figure 2. Inscription of Gasr EL-AZAIZ

(Libya Antiqua Vol.13-14 = IRT 893)

1. [VIV]VA SIBAVS FE-
2. [L]NDR YT LOBV-
3. HEM VLY BANE-
4. M BVNI ABDSILIM
5. SE BVD TM V SYSAN
6. SILVAN[VS] VXE-
7. B CAL A[CMD]M ST
8. V ARIAT SICAVRAN

A suggested translation is as follows:

'Viva Sibaus made a sacrifice for his father and for his son.
The Builder Abdsilim, by whom 'the promise' was accomplished, and
Sysan Siluanus erected these colonnades and memorial portico'.

Discussion:

Line 1. VIVA, a proper name and it recurs in another Latino-Punic inscription from Tripolitania (IRT 892.1).

Line 1. SIBAVS, a proper name.

Lines 1/2. FEL, translates 'he made'. This verb, a Latin transliteration of P^CL (DISO, pp.231-32) is frequently attested in Tripolitanian inscriptions (cf. IRT 929.1, 3; 873.2; 877.2).

Line 2. NDR, 'vow' or 'sacrifice' (Hoftijzer, 1960, 175 n.20).

Line 2/3. LOBVHEM: L + OBVHEM: L, translates 'for' (G. Levi Della Vida, 1963, p.78; cf. Hoftijzer, 1960, 131). It recurs in other Latino-Punic inscriptions from the interior of Tripolitania (IRT 826.1; 828.1; Reynolds, 1955, 141). OBVHEM, translates 'his father'.

It recurs in different transcriptions in another Latino-Punic inscription from Tripolitania (OBV [HY]M: IRT 828.1/2). Krahmalkov (JSS, XV, 1970, 184) shows that the bound form of the noun AB

'father' in Phoenician exhibits the long vowel [-U] as in aramaic [ABUHHOM] (ibid). Here the possessive suffix [-em] in OBUHEM is the same like [-IM] in BINIM 'his son' (Poen.v.936, IRT 889.1). Thus LOBUHEM translates 'for his father' like L³MM 'for his mother' (CIS 1, 151.5).

Line 3. VLY, 'and for' (Poen. 930, 938). It recurs in other Latino-Punic inscriptions (IRT 827.1; 866.2; 906.2).

Lines 3/4. BANEM, translates 'his son'. It is clearly a variant transcription of 'BINIM' 'his son' (Poen,v.936; IRT 889.1).

Line 4. BVNI: G. Levi Della Vida (1963, 74) reading BVNY 'builder' in IRT 906 still deserves consideration. F. Vattioni (1976, 552) suggested 'my son' but does not suit the context as the dedicant third person. This is probably confirmed by the fact that the builders or constructors are usually mentioned in funeral monuments and Punic dedications (Levi Della Vida, ibid.).

Line 4. ABDSILIM, a proper name like AbdMelqart which is frequent in Tripolitanian inscriptions (IRT 246). ABD, 'servant' (Hoftijzer 1960, 201). ILIM = elim, 'devine'. It recurs in variant transcriptions as ALM (NP.1 = IRT 349) and ³LM (NP.32.1 = IRT 318). In Arabic ALIM - 'the name of god'. Latino-Punic inscriptions attested to other names, which include the name of god, such as the name of MYTHUNILIM (IRT 873), MUTHUNBAL (CIL, VIII, 16776), MUTHUMBAL (CIL VIII, 17296 - IRT 294) which are Latin inscriptions of Punic. MUTTUNBA⁶AL which attested in Neo-Punic inscriptions from Tripolitania (RIV. TRIP.3, p.111 = Neo-Punic 19; IRT 294) and gives the meaning of 'gift from the god'. Also Nasililim, which translates as 'sacrifice for god' appears in Latin inscriptions from the Sanc-

tuary of Saturn at AIN-Tounga in Tunisia (CIL VIII, 14950, 14987, 15072).

Line 5. SE, a relative pron. and here translates 'whom' (Poen. v. 944; Szzymer, 1967, 127).

Line 5. BVD, could be a corrupt form of Punic BODI (Poen. v. 939) which gives the meaning of 'while I'. In Hebrew BE AD 'on behalf of'. But we think it means 'by' which suits the text (cf. Szzymer, 1967, p.101, 108).

Line 5. TM, could be derived from the root TMM = to complete (Hoftijzer, 1960, 329, 331). In Poenulus YTHMVM, translates 'accomplish' (v.931).

Line 5. V SYSAN: V + SYSAN: V 'and' (Poen. v.930). SYSAN, a proper name and it recurs in another Latino-Punic inscription from Tripolitania (J. Reynolds, 1955, 141).

Line 6. [SJILVAN[VS]], probably Siluanus, a proper name which recurs in other Latino-Punic inscriptions (IRT 338, 715).

Line 6/7. VXEB, translates 'erected' (G. Levi Della Vida, 1963, 90, n.49).

Line 7. CAL = KAL, translates 'all' (Hoftijzer, 1960, 118-19; NP. 32.9 = IRT 318). In Poenulus CHYL = all (v.945).

Line 7. ST, translates 'these' (Poen.v. 930, 937).

Line 8. V ARIAT: V + VARIAT. V, 'and' ARIAT, could be a corrupt form of Punic ARFT = 'rft, translates 'portico' (NP.13.2 = IRT p.12; Hoftijzer, 1960, 222 n.16)

Line 8. SICAVRAN - Punic SKRN, 'memorial' (Hoftijzer, 1960, 78).

Thus ARIAT SICAVRN like MSBT SKR 'memorial stele' (CIS i, 116.1).

LP.60. Fasciet e-Habs (Sofeggin); IRT 894; cf. G. Levi della Vida, OA 2 (1963) 86, n.44.

1. D (is)m(anibus)s(acrum)
2. Nabor
3. SVRNIA
4. AVO
5. SANV
6. n(umero) LXXX
7. NY SATH FO
8. .. MILIM E
9. .. DVO
10. [JS

1. DIS MANIBUS : Latin = the departed spirits, the deified souls of the deceased. SACRUM = sacred.
2. NABOR : a proper name.
3. SVRNIA : a proper name.
4. AVO : lived (Poen. v.994).
5. SANV : years (IRT 855; LP.6a).
6. NUMERO: Latin, paid in cash, counted out.
7. NYSATH_ : It could be derived from the root of the verb NS, which is transcribed in other instances as NASOT (= NSIT). The verb NS is frequent in Punic and here gives the meaning of vowing (Poen.v. 836; M. Sznycer, PPP., p.99).
7. FO : It could mean 'here' or 'coins' (Poen. v.932; DISO, p.225 n.17).
8. (SL)M ILIM : SLM = a kind of scarifice (DISO, p.305 n.32).
ILIM : It could be a corrupt form of ELIM = 'god' (See LP.59 = IRT 893).
8. E[BID] : Abd = 'bd "made" (DISO, p.199, LP.59.5).
9. DVO : Latin = two.
10. (ER)S : It could be punic ERS -translates "stele" (Poen.v. 947).

LP.61. Gasr Bugar. O. Brogan, J. Reynolds, PBSR 28 (1960) 54, nr.6,

pl. XVIIIc; F. Vattioni (AUG.16 (1976), p.552.

1. FLANHIAV
2. NDHVS (?G?)VDRVCA
3. BVTH AIVBANONI

The reading is uncertain. 1. FLAVIUS : a proper name which recurs in other Latino-punic inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania (IRT 886b, 989.1). NHIA, a proper name and it recurs in another Latino-punic inscription (below PL 64 = IRT 903.1). 3. BVTH, (= BYT=BT) 'daughter' (see below, PL 62 = IRT 901.3).

LP.62. Girza. Wadi Zemzem. CIL VIII, 199971=10991=III, 744; IRT 901; Vattioni 49; Gratwick 42. F. Vattioni, in AION, sn 16(1966) pp.49-50; G. Levi della Vida, in AION, ns 17 (1967) p.265; G. Garbini, Studi Magrebini, Vol. XI (1979) p.37; C.I.L. VIII, 10971=10991=C.I.L., III 744+IRT, 901, G.C. Polsell, SM, XI, (1979) pp.39-40.

1. MEMORIA MV
2. FELA THVAL-
3. ATH? BVTH N-
4. ASIF MV FELA
5. LYRVTHI ABI LINEMA

F. Vattioni translated this inscription as follows:

"Monumento che ha fatto Thualath(?), figlia di Nasif che ha fatto ha portato per il suo bene". G.C. Polsell translated it as follows: 'Monumento che ha fatto Thualath figlia di Nasif; che ha fatto per la casa di suo padre, per la sua prosperita'. However, I would translate this inscription as follows: 'Monument which was made by Thualath daughter of Nasif, that did she make from her father's inheritance, for prosperity.

Discussion:

1. - MV, relat.pron. (cf. DISO, p.144; IRT 828, 877).
2. - FELA, perf.v. 3. sing.fem. 'she made' (see above PL.1.)
- 2/3. Thualath, a proper woman's name.
3. BVTH, (=BYT = BT) 'daughter'. The feminine plural of BT appears in Poenulus as BYNUTHI 'daughters' (v.932, cf. Vattioni, 1976, Polsell, loc.ut).
- 3/4. NASIF, a proper name which recurs in other Latino-punic inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania (IRT 886f, 899, 906).
5. LYRVTHI : L + yrth : L - translates 'for, from, to' (cf. DISO, p.130; C151, 151, Poen. 935,938; IRT 886, 886b; 886e). LYRYTHI, was taken by G.C. Polsell as LYBYTH 'Ly + BT 'house' (op.cit., p.40) while I think LYRYTH : L + YRYTH = jrt -translates here 'inheritance' (or bequeathment) and in Arabic YRYTH 'to inherit'. Also in Nabataean JRT 'heir' (CIS ii 206.3; DISO, p.111).
5. ABI, transcription of 'BY,'B 'father' and G. Polsell sees in -I suffixal pronoun of 3 pers. fem. (op.cit.p.40).
5. LINEMA : LI = LY = L -translates 'of' (Poen.v. 938); DISO, p.130-31; above LP.33 = IRT 886b). NEMA = N'M, this term gives the meaning of 'prosperity, grace, fortune' and it recurs in other inscriptions (IRT, 877; 903). It also appears as a part of a name 'N'matgidde' in a Neo-punic inscription from Tripolitania (see below Append.1 NP.47a). It recurs in other Latin inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania (IRT 244; 674). N'MA in Arabic means 'prosperity, fortune'.

MACHIK AII NAONC

LP.64. Girza. Wadi Zemzem. CIL VIII, 22663 = IRT 903.

1. NHIABHIV-
2. IVA NHINSRY
3. AMVR?ANA NEMA

Reading very doubtful; particularly in the last line.

1. NHIABHI : It could be a proper noun.

1/2. VIVA : A proper name (see LP. 58.1 = IRT 892, LP.59.1 = CIL VIII, 22664 = IRT 893.

2. NHINISRY : It could be a proper name.

3. AMVRANA : It could mean 'lived' as in Arabic AMR=lived.

3. NEMA : grace (LP.27.8). Thus I would translate this inscription as follows: "Nhiabhi Viva Nhinisry lived in grace".

LP.65. Miragen Ngosta, Wadi Shetaf. O. Brogan, J. Reynolds, PBSR 28 (1960) 54, nr.7, tav. XVII b.

1.ARI
2.LVTHC
3. ..CALI STY
4. VSSIARIMMAN
5.CHRVS V BVN

3. ..CALISYTVS : It could be the name of the goddess Caelestis which was highly venerated in the region of Tripolitania (see APP.1, NP.55)

4. SIAR, could be a corrupt form of punic Š'R 'port' (DISO, p.215).

4. IMMAN, could be a corrupt form of punic EMANETHI 'to repair' or 'to consecrate' (peon.v.937; Syncer, 1967,94).

5. [MA]CHRVS : a proper name (LP.32.8=IRT 886a).

VBVN : V + BVN = and + son.

LP.66. Bir Scedeua (Sofeggin). J. Reynolds, PBSR 23 (1955) 138; S.20;

F. Vattioni, AUG. 16 (1976) p.553).

1. MINSYSTH SYTH M(asa)
2. VCHAN RVTH IYLLVLO
3. HVLEM NIA CHIATHM
4. IMIO ... M A
5. VNMASIRAN VY
6. MVMROL

1. MINSYSTH -translates 'stele' (above LP.1.1 = IRT 828.1).

1. SYTH -translates 'this' (Poen.v.930).

1/2. MASAVCHAN, a proper name and it recurs in other Latino - punic inscriptions from Tripolitania (above LP.53.1; LP.54.2 = IRT 906.2).

2. RVTH, could be a corrupt form of BYTH = BET' - translates 'daughter' (above LP.62.3 = IRT 901.3).

2. IYLI.VLO, a proper name. It recurs in other Latino- punic inscriptions from Roman Tripolitania (LP.53.2;54.2).

3. CHI, could be punic KY 'who, which)' (Poen.v.931;935).

3/4. ATHMIMIO, could be punic YTHMUM 'accomplished' (Poen.v.931).

LP.67. Ghadames. J.M. Reynolds, PBSR 26 (1958) 136, nr.3, tav. XXVe;

F. Vattioni, AUG. 16 (1976) p.553.

8. RA
9. TE
10. BVE.....B
11. LAN .. E . C.....NA
12. LV ..RVN VMMse son (?)
13.REMAEI CIBES MEISH
14. MVSES DVCENTOS S ERIO two hundred sesterces
15. RISASTHE FEOAEARE ITL

LP.68. Wadi Beni Musa, Wadi Tareglat. O. Brogan, J.M. Reynolds.

LA L (1964) 45, nr.3, tav. XXIXb.

1. PALMAM(?)
2. ELVA

3. CASTRUM
4. MVTA
5. FEL B has made
6. LICH

LP.69. Wadi Beni Musa, Wadi Tareglat. Museo di Tripolit. O. Brogan, J.M. Reynolds, LA 1 (1964) 45, nr. 4, tav. XXXIXa; J. Fevrier, BAC 1971, 225-227; F. Vattioni, AUG. 16 (1976), p.69.

1.VSABARLIYR
2. ACHIR YRSATH
3. MIGIN VERMES
4. SISCHOI BVNIM CH-
5. IVRSOREM YASAR
6. R BIOENYMYITH
7. MVCVBAI AMSCH
8. RYMYGABYIYGA
9. V.FACHV..H.FELTHY I have made

F. Vattioni (Ibid.n.69) offered these interpretations:

1. VSABAR : Fevrier reads VSASAR. LIIRY: Fevrier reads LIIVR = for IUR.
2. ACHIR: proper noun. YRSATH : Fevrier reads VRSATH = and Rsath, it is attested as a proper noun in CIL VIII, 27983 :Qursat).
3. VERMES : Fevrier reads ERMES only.
4. SISCHOI : Latin Sisoi in Cdb 9 (1960^s), 36; Sissoi in CIL VIII, 20452. V BUNIM: and his son, according to Fevrier or "the son".
- 4/5. CHIVRSOREM : Fevrier reads CHIVRSORIM and he sees the cursores. The remaining seems rather doubtful.

But I would translate some of these terms as follows:

1. VS could be the last letters from a name (e.g. Julius).
- ABAR: It could be a name. LIYRA : Li = yrh = of the month (DISO;p111).
2. YRS : It could be a corrupt form of punic ERS 'stele' (Poen.v.947).
2. ATH: It could be a construct of punic At: 'at the time'. (DISO, p.224).

3. Migin V Hermes: Migin : a proper Libyan name (Reynolds J., PBSR, 28 (1960) p.52. n.2.

3. V Hermes: V + Hermes : V = and (Poen.v.930).Hermes (Hermes?) = a proper name (Vattioni; Aug, 16, 1976, pp. 553-54).

LP.70. Dukkara. O. Brogan, J.M. Reynolds, LA 1 (1964) 46, nr.5, tav.

XXXIIIc.

1. RASTIM
2. HY IADO Iado
3. ILATERIST
4. MLEMIA

1. RASTIM : cf. CIL VIII, 17328. 'Rastius'.

1. RAS, could be punic R'S 'head, chief' (DISO, 269; Coke, NSI, 1903, 285).

1. TIM could be punic TM 'great' (DISO, p.329).

2. HY -translates 'this is' (Poen.v.937, Szyncer, 1967, 95).

2. IADO:YADO, a proper name (LP 47).

3. ILAT :YLAT, could be punic LT 'offer' or 'sacrifice' (DISO, p.211) or it could be a proper name.

3. ERIS, could be a corrupt form of ERS, 'stele' (Poen.v.947)

3/4. TM - 'accomplished' (DISO, p.329).

4. LEMIA : L + MIA, L 'for' (above LP.2.1 = IRT 828.15 LP.53.1).

MIA, could be a proper name.

A suggested translation:

'The great chief YADO Ylat completed (this) stele for MIA'.

LP.71. Wadi el-Amud, O. Brogan, LA 1 (1964) 52-53; Vattioni 54.

1. [] cuius Bau
2. [] san ES
3. [] RAS
4. [] MASIRAN
5. N pronepos
6. hoc opus super
7. patris aedifici-
8. um addidit FEL has made

General Conclusions

Study of the Neo-Punic inscriptions of Tripolitania has shown that some words passed from Punic into Libyan Arabic. These include the terms KRS - 'to gain' (or: 'to make'); PARSM - 'sack of dates' (Append. 1, NP.51) which are not used in Arabic dialects outside Libya. This probably indicates the continuity between Neo-Punic and Libyan colloquial Arabic. The known vocabulary is so scanty that we have to draw upon other Semitic dialects, e.g., Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic. From our interpretation of these inscriptions it is clear that the writers of Neo-Punic committed many solecisms as we explained before (Append. 2, LP. 1.1, p.291, LP.6.1, p. 298; LP.27.7, p. 306).

These inscriptions are written in a debased form of Punic marked by solecisms committed by the writers; missing parts of some of them are due to the damage to the stones on which they were inscribed. All these factors have made their interpretation a difficult matter. Therefore we do not expect our suggested interpretations to be more than conjectural. However, not only do these inscriptions attest to the prevalence of the Punic language in Roman Tripolitania, but also provide interesting data of the Neo-Punic language. They also shed light on the history of the ancient Roman province of Tripolitania and the Roman military and civil organization in the Limes zone.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER 1

- 1 Cf. Fuller, J.F.C., Julius Caesar, London 1955 p. 18; 19ff; Charles André Jullien, L' Histoire de l'Afrique de Nord, translated to Arabic by M. Emzali. Tunis 1969 p. 94; Al Jawhari Y.A., The History of North Africa (Arabic Edition), Alexandria 1970 p. 158.
- 2 Scullard H.H., A history of the Roman World, London, 1980, p.167.
- 3 Aljawhari op. cit. p. 159.
- 4 Polyb. XV, 15, 16, Grazioli F.S. in Africa Romana, Milan, 1935, pp.1-26.
- 5 Polyb. XV, 9.8; Gsell S., Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord, III, 1924; p.308.
- 6 Polybius XV, 8,18: Appian Historia Romana; App. VIII, 54; Gsell, III; pp.245-246; 286-293 ff.
- 7 Polybius XV, 18; JRS, LV, 1965, p. 155 n.76.
- 8 Polybius, XXXI, 21, 8; Gsell, S., Hist. Anc. III, p.290ff; 213.
- 9 lib. 54. Gsell (Hist. Anc. III, p. 290; 213) believes that Appian merely specifies what Polybius had in mind, but to have left this unsaid would have been an incredible omission on Polybius' part. As Romanelli (P), (in Storia, 1959, p.20 n.2) well remarks "la fronte da Polibio".
- 10 Walsh P.G., JRS, LV, 1965, p. 156
- 11 Romanelli (P), Storia delle provincia delle Africa, Roma, 1959, p.22 ff.
- 12 Walsh P.G., loc. cit.
- 13 Polybius XV, 18, 4; Livy XXX, 37, 4.
- 14 Merighi A., La Tripolitania Antica, Vol. 1, 1940, Rome, p. 69; Gsell S., Anc. Hist. III, pp. 313, 314, 353.
- 15 Polybius, XXXVI, 21; Haynes, D.E.L., Antiquities of Tripolitania, Tripoli, 1965, pp. 31; 32.
- 16 Gsell, S. Hist. Anc. XIV; Gsell S., Congres des Orientalists (Algiers, 1905) 347 ff.
- 17 Polybius XXXI, 21; Dessau, R.E. 5, 2526-7; Gsell S., Hist. Anc., III, p. 316; JRS, LV. 1965, 156.

- 18 Kahrdstedt, Gesch. d. Karch. 111, 4, 578 ff; Gsell, S., Hist. Anc., 111, p. 317 ff; Romanelli, p., Storia 1959, p.29.
- 19 Livy XXX111, XLV11; XXX1V; LX1-LX11.
- 20 In 196 Roman anxiety had been aroused by the emergence of Hanibal as a sufete at Carthage, with a sweeping proposal for constitution and fiscal reform. He was also said to be in communication with Antiochus (Walsh, JRS, LV. loc. cit.)
- 21 Gsell, S., Anc. Hist. 11, p. 127; ibid 111, p. 315.
- 22 Livy (XX1X, 33, 9) mentioned that Syphax, the King of the Libyans, supported the Carthaginians against the Romans in the war, while Massinissa the King of Massili - who had returned from Spain - supported the Romans. Although he resisted a long time, at the end he was defeated by Syphax, and withdrew to the emporia region, "inter punica emporia gentemque Garamantum" (Livy XX1X, 3, 9). Gsell said that his withdrawal was probably to Garian mountain (Gsell, S., Anc. Hist. 111, 1960). He did not seek refuge in the towns, because they were against him and he joined Scipio Africanus and took part in the victory at Zama. (Livy XXX1X, XXX111, 10).
- 23 Polybius XXX1, 21, 7; Livy XXX1V, 62, 10; cf. Livy, XXX111, 47, 8.
- 24 Romanelli (P.), Lepcis Magna, Rome 1925, p. 11.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Livy XXXIV, 62; the other members of the Commission were, C. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Minicius Rufus, who were Scipio's close associates.
- 27 Livy, loc. cit.
- 28 Walsh, JRS., op. cit., p. 158.
- 29 Livy XXX1, 19; XXX, 27; In the second Macedonian War the King supplied the Romans with cavalry and grain and in this very year (193) 800 Numidian cavalry were fighting against the Ligures (Livy XXXV, 11). In the year (191) 300 cavalry and 20 elephants were in Greece (Livy XXX, 4, 8).
- 30 Livy XL, 17
- 31 Livy XXXV1, 4; XXXViii, 42, 7
- 32 Livy XL, 34.
- 33 Livy XL11, 29.

- 34 Livy XLV, 13-14
- 35 Polybius XXXI, 21, 6; App. VIII, 68.
- 36 Livy XL, 17, 1-6; XLII, 23; Polybius XXXI, 21, 1.
- 37 Polybius XXXI, 21, 4; Livy XXXIV, 62, 2; JRS, LV, 1965, p. 155.
- 38 Peroud cl. De Syrticis emporiis, 1881, p.209.
- 39 App. Bell. Civ., 71-72. Regarding this point Appian mentions that when Scipio Aemilianus, Legatus of Licinius Lucullus came from Spain to Africa, he found Massinissa engaged in battle with the Carthaginians. Therefore he interfered to reconcile them. He was able to convince Carthage to pay one thousand talents as a compensation to Massinissa (ibid).
- 40 Peroud cl., op. cit., p. 191
- 41 Karst^hedt, Geschichte der Karthager, Berlin (1879-1913), p. 592, 613 ff.
- 42 Peroud cl., op. cit., III, p. 314.
- 43 loc. cit.
- 44 Leptis Magna, 1925, p.11.
- 45 cf. Livy XXXIV, 62, 1; App. Bell. Civ. 72; Walsh (JRS LV, 1976, p. 159 no. 103) said that the account of Appian (Lib. 72), dating the final evacuation in 150 B.C., illustrates that author's defective chronology through over compression (ibid.).
- 46 Sall, Jug. 77
- 47 Pliny, N.H., XV, 74
- 48 Livy, Per 47; App. Lib. 69
- 49 Livy, Per 48; Zon IX, 26
- 50 Livy, Per 48
- 51 App. Bell. Civ., VII, 70.
- 52 Ibid. 70; Livy Per 48
- 53 Wright J., Libya, 1969, p. 48.
- 54 On the legality of the declaration of war, see Saumagne, in Riv. Hist. 167 (1931) p. 227 ff; idem 168 (1931) p. 10 ff.

- 55 Gsell, S., Hist. Anc. 111, pp. 336-407; cf. Barton 1, 1972b, op. cit., p. 14; Abunaser, A History of the Magrib, Cambridge, 1971, p. 28.
- 56 Adcock, F., "Delenda est Carthago" Cambridge Historical Journal, VIII, (1946) p. 119.
- 57 See Haywood R.M., 'Roman Africa', in An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome (ed. by Tenney Frank) 1938, p. 78.
- 58 Polybius, XXXVI, 9; Haywood R.M., op. cit. p. 8.
- 59 Haywood, ibid.; M. Gelzer, 'Nasicas Widerspruch, gegen die Zerstörung Karthages' in Philologus, LXXXVI (1931), pp. 261-299.
- 60 Appian, Bell. Civ., IV, 7, 53. Strabo, XV11, 3, 15. Regarding the name of the province of Africa see Gsell op. cit. IV pp. 1-8.
- 61 Pliny (N.H., V, 4, 25) mentioned that the borders of Africa Vetus which were made in 146 B.C. (V, 4, 25) "ea pars quam Africam appellavimus, dividitur in duas provincias, veterem at novam, discretas fossa inter Africanum sequentem et reges, Thenas usque perducta." Comp. Pliny V, 3, 22; Sall, Iug. 19 regarding the positions of Phoenician dykes. Comp. Tissot 11, p. 2 Segg.; Toutain, op. cit. p. 19; Cagnat Compt. Rend. de l'Acad. des Inscript. 1894 pp. 43-51.
- 62 App. Bell. Civ., VI11, 106.
- 63 Abunaser, op. cit. p. 29
- 64 Gsell, Anc. Hist. op. cit. 111, p. 363 n.7; VIII, p. 135.
- 65 Sall, Iug. 5; Appian Bell. Civ., VI11, 105; Zon. Epitom. Hist. IX, 27.
- 66 Appian, Bell. Civ., VIII, 105-6; Jullien, La Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, Paris 1951. Translated to Arabic by M. Mezali, Tunis 1969 p. 154; Gsell, Hist. Anc., 11, p. 364; Livy Periochae, 50; Walsh, JRS (1965), vol. LV, p. 155.
- 67 Jullien C.A., op. cit. p. 155.
- 68 Sallust, Iug. 78: "Eius Civitatis...legum cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant."
- 69 Romanelli, 1925, p. 11; Merighi op. cit., 89
- 70 Cicero Verr., 11, 5.155; Cf. Wilson A.J.N., Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome (1966), pp. 57-59.

- 71 Concerning trade of the coastal cities during Carthaginian rule, see Peroud op. cit., p. 141. ff; De Sanctis G., Storia dei Romani, Tolino Bocca 1907; 111 p. 78 ff.
- 72 Romanelli 1925 . p. 14.
- 73 Sallust Iug., 5; Abunaser op. cit., 30
- 74 Cf. App. Lib. 106; Dio XXXIV-XXXV, 35.
- 75 Strabo, XVll, 3, 13; Dio.XXXIV, 5; JRS (1965), vol. LV, p. 155; Livy, Per. 50.
- 76 Sallust, Iug. 6, 7: Gsell, Hist. Anc. Vll p. 140
- 77 Livy, Epit. LXll
- 78 Wright J., op. cit. p. 49.
- 79 Sall. Iug. 13; Livy, Epit. LXll; Orosius V, 15, 3; Orisini, A. "Tripoli e Pentapoli" Riv. Militari ital. Roma 1911, 16pp 2589-2604; Wright p. 49.
- 80 Sall. 13; Cf. Florus I.36, 4.
- 81 Sall. Iug. 8, 13; Cf. Flor. loc. cit.
- 82 Gsell, Hist. Anc. Vll, p. 146.
- 83 Sallust says that Jugurtha obtained the rich western part of Numidia through the head of the Roman delegation Lucius Opimius who favoured Jugurtha. Sall. Iug. 16, 1-8.
- 84 Sall. Iug. 20; Cf. Livy Epit. LXIV.
- 85 Gsell Hist. Anc. p. 150
- 86 Ibid.
- 87 Sallust. Iug. 26; Dio XXXIV-V, 31; Strab. XVll, 3, 12; Liv. Epit. LXIV.
- 88 Sallust. Iug. 27, 28; Cf. Liv. Epit. 1, 64; Oros, V, 15.
- 89 Concerning the stages of this war see:
e.g. Sallust. Iug. cc. 39-113. Cf. Gsell Vll pp 164-265.
- 90 Sallust. Iug. 29; Liv. Epit. LXIV. It seems that Calpurnius Bestia and his adviser Aemilius Scaurus were alleged to be in Jugurtha's pay.
- 91 Sall. Iug. XXXVI, 4; XLIII, 1; XLV, 1-3.

- 92 Ibid. LXXXIV; LXXXVI, 1-3; LXXXVII, LXXXIX, 1, 2; C1
- 93 Sallust, Iug. CXIII, 1-6; CXIV Bocchus I became the friend and ally of the Romans, Cf. Sall. Iug. CX1; Sall. Iug. 97
Plut. Pyrrhus et Marius 32
- 94 Wright J. op. cit. p.49.
- 95 Ibid. p. 49
- 96 Romanelli 1925, . p. 12
- 97 Sallust, Iug. LXXVII 2, 3, 4. "Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepci Magna ad Metellum venerant orantes uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret: Hamilcarem quendam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus sudere adversum quem neque imperia magistratuum neque leges valerant. Ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore."
(2) Nam Lepcitani iam inde a principio belli Iurgurthini ad Bestiam consulem et postea Roman miserant amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deinde, ubi ea impetrata semper boni fidelesque mansere et cuncta a Bestia, Albino Metelloque imperata nave fecerant."
(4) "Itaque ab imperatore facile quae petebant adepti. Emmisae eo cohortes Ligurum quattuor et C. Annius praefectus".
- 98 Sallust Iug. LXXXVII, 4
- 99 Merighi A., op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 97 n.3.
- 100 Toutain, Les Cités Romaines de la Tunisie; Essai sur la histoire de la colonisation Romaine dans l'Afrique du nord, Paris, (1896) p. 20.
He says that in 106 "la côte de syrtes fut distraite du royaume de Numidie et rattachée a la province Romaine."
He also mentions that the Emporia had been annexed to the Roman province and it was under the rule of the governor of Utica (Tunis). Cf. p. 310 n.3.
- 101 Op. cit., 97. Cf. Caes. Bell.Civ. II, 38.
- 102 Op. cit., p. 13; Sallust. Iug. 77; Marquardt J. Organisation de l'empire Romain tran. par A. Weiss, Paris 1919, p. 451.
- 103 D. Giovanni op. cit. Vol. 2, p. 14.
- 104 Merighi, op. cit., 1, p. 98.
- 105 Dio. Fragm. 79, 4; C.I.L. 11, 3417. Cf. Gsell Hist. Anc. (1930) VIII, p. 263, 275; Plut. Pyrrhus et Marius 40; Sallust, Iug. 65 "Mastanabalis filius, Massinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat". (Ibid.)

- 106 Gsell Hist. Anc. op. cit. VII p. 289
- 107 Wright J., op. cit. p. 49.
- 108 Caes. Bell Afric. 97.1; Cf. Bell Civ. 11, 38; Plut., op. cit. Pompeius 12.
- 109 Caes. Bel. Afr. 97; Plut. Pomp.; Gsell. Hist. Anc. VII, p. 289; Cicero criticised in his second speech the agricultural law and said that King Juba had much gold. He mentioned that Caesar pulled Juba's chin defending Masintha who was under his protection.
- 110 Caesar Bell. Civ. ii, 25 (in B.C.50).

Chapter II

- 1 Ibid., i, 9,10,11.
- 2 Bell. Civ., 1, 24, 30.
- 3 Caes, Bell Civ., 1. 31.
- 4 Caes, Bell Civ., ii, 25.
- 5 Caes, Bell Afr. 97; Caesar, Bell Civ., 11, 38.
- 6 Leptis Magna, 1925, p.14.
- 7 Gsell, Hist. Anc. VIII, (1972), pp.32-33.
- 8 Stabo, 17.3.20.
- 9 Ibid., Plut. Cato Minor, 56.
- 10 Loc. cit. Lucanus, Pharsalia, IX, 891.
- 11 Bell. Civ., ii,23,25; Michael Grant, Caesar, (1974), p.119.
- 12 Caesar, Bell. Civ. ii, 23.
- 13 Caesar, Bell. Civ., ii, 24, 39, 42, 43, The Cambridge Ancient History (1938) = C.A.H., IV. pp.652-653.
- 14 Caesar, Bell. Civ., II, 43; C.A.H., IX, p.653.
- 15 Cf. Caes, Bell. Civ., ii, 44.
- 16 Caesar, Bell. Civ., ii, 38.
- 17 Ibid., Cfr. C.A.H., IV, p.652; Frank Burr Marsh., A History of the Roman World, (1953), p.237.
- 18 Caesar, Bell. Civ., iii, 104; Appian, Lib., II, XI, 81; XII, 85.
- 19 Ptolemy XII had died in 51 B.C., leaving his Kingdom to the joint rule of his elder son Ptolemy XIII, then twelve years old, and his eldest daughter Cleopatra VII, who was six, and he named the Roman people their guardian. The Kind had expelled his sister, who fled to Syria and raised an army. She and her brother were now encamped against one another by Pelusium east of the Nile delta.

When Caesar arrived in Egypt, he managed to put an end to this dispute between the two rivals. Cleopatra was established as joint ruler with her younger brother Ptolemy XIV, a boy of eleven (this was between 48-47 B.C.) Dio, XL, 36-45; Michael Grant, 1974, pp.147-148; C.A.H., IV, pp. 668, 674.

op. cit.,

- 20 The main outstanding problem which faced Caesar at this period was in Northern Asia Minor. Pharnaces the King of Pontus, seeing the Romans so heavily involved in their own Civil Wars, had crossed into Asia Minor and revived the kingdom of his father, but in the end Pharnaces was defeated and killed. (47 B.C.)
Appian, Bell. Civ., ii, 91; Caesar, Alexandrian War, 38, 76, Dio, Roman History, XLII, 46, 48; Grant, Michael, : 1974 , p.151.
- 21 App. Bell. Civ., II, 92-5; Lucanus Phars., IX, 948; Dio, XLII, 52-55 C.A.H., Vol. IX, p.860, Grant, Michael, 1974 , pp.154-155.
- 22 History of Rome, Vol. IV, p.412; Cf. Dio XLII, 56.4 Marsh., op. cit., 242; Fuller J., op. cit., p.263; C.A.H., IX, p.681, Cfr. Dio, XLII, 56.4.
- 23 Dio, XLII, 55,56; C.A.H., IX, p.681.
- 24 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 25: King of East Mauretania; a supporter of Caesar; Cfr. Dio, XLI, 42.7; XLIII, 3; Appian, Lib. II, XIV, 96.
- 25 Bogud: Caesar, (Bell. Alexand. 59, 62: Bell. Afr., 23) King of West Mauretania; a supporter of Caesar; Cfr. Dio., XLI, 42.7; Dio, XLIII, 36.
- 26 Publius Sittius: (Bell Afr. 25, 36, 48, 93, 95, 96) A Roman bankrupt, turned mercenary Captain fought against Juba; rewarded by Caesar with territory in Africa (Sittian Colonies). Cfr. Dio., XLIII, 3; Pompius Mela, 1. 30; Sal. Cat. 21; Pliny, V, 2, 22.
- 27 Dio, XLIII, 4.2; Bell Afr. 56; Cf. App. II, XIV, 97.
- 28 Caesar, Bell Afr., 3; Jullien Ch. A., op. cit., p.166.
- 29 Caesar, Bell Afr., 4, 6, 7.
- 30 Caesar, Bell Afr., 11. 13, 14, 15, 18, 19.
- 31 Dio., XLIII, 1-2; App. Bell Civ., 11, XIV, 95
Dio Cassius and Appianus give different versions of this engagement. According to Dio, Petreius and Labienus killed many of the Caesarians. The survivors made a stand on high ground and would have been cut to pieces, if Petreius and Labienus themselves had not been wounded. According to Appian, the Caesarians were completely routed. The pursuit was abandoned when Labienus' horse threw him, Petreus wishing to allow Scipio the final honour of victory. He drew off his forces, saying to those round him, "Let us not deprive our general, Scipio, of the victory".
(Appian, Bell. Civ.^{IV}, 95)

- 32 Caesar, Bell Afr., 22, 23.
- 33 Caesar, Bell Afr., 25; Dio, XLIII, 3
- 34 Caesar, Bell Afr., 34; Dio, XLIII, 6
- 35 Caesar, Bell Afr., 33, 36.
- 36 Caesar, Bell Afr., 35.
- 37 Ibid. 47, 48; Dio, XLIII, 4, 5, 6.
- 38 Caesar, Bell Afr., 67; Dio, XLIII, 5.
- 39 Bell Afr., 68,69; Dio, XLIII, 4.4.
- 40 Dio, XLIII, 7.2; Caesar, Bell Afr., 79.
- 41 Caesar, Bell Afr., 80, 82.
- 42 Bell Afr., 82, 83, 86; Dio, XLIII, 8; Cf. Appian, Bell. Civ., ii, 97.
- 43 Caesar, Bell Afr., 85.
- 44 Ibid., 87.
- 45 Caesar, Bell Afr., 88; Cfr. Appian, Bell.Civ., ii, 98,99; Dio, XLIII, 11; Plutarch, Cato the Younger, LVII, 72.
- 46 Bell Afr., 89; Cfr. Dio, XLII, 12; Cf. Appian Bell.Civ., II,100 mention that of the 300 enemies of Caesar put to death all that he found, while Suetonius (Jul. 75) says that only three of Caesar's enemies lost their lives.
- 47 Bell Afr., 95
- 48 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 94; Dio XLIII, 8.3.4.; Appian, Bell.Civ., II, 100.
- 49 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 96; Appian, Bell.Civ., II, 100; Dio XLIII, 9.5.
- 50 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 97; Dio XLIII, 9.1.2; Caesar imposed a fine of 2,000,000 sesterces on the people of Thapsus, and 3,000,000 on their Roman community; 3,000,000 again on the people of Hadrumetum and 5,000,000 on their Roman community. Caesar, ibid.)
- 51 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 97.
- 52 Sallust, Bell. Iug., 77.
- 53 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 97.

- 54 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 97 "ex regnoque provincia facta atque ibi C. Sallustio proconsule cum imperio relicto ipse Zama egressus uticam se recepit". (Ibid.).
- 55 Pomponius Mela, I, 30.
- 56 App. Bell. Civ., IV, 54.
- 57 Appianus (Bell. Civ. IV, 54) mentioned that the adventurer Sittius was presented by Caesar with a large territory running eastward from Ampsaga to somewhere east of Rusicade; Cf. Mela, I, 30; Gsell (S), Anc. Hist., VIII, p. 157.
- 58 Caesar, Bell. Afr. 97; Cf. Dio XLIII, 9.2; App. II, XIV, 100. "Sittius" territory, after his death, seems to have been incorporated into Africa Nova (R.M. Haywood, op. cit., p.15).
- 59 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 97; App. Bell. Civ., II, 100; Dio (XLIII, 9) mentioned that Sallustius plundered and harried the province which he governed. He took many bribes and confiscated much property. But after he paid a big sum he was completely exonerated by Caesar. Pseudo-Cicero invectiva Contra Sallustium, VIII, 19 yet in his history, as a tablet, the man himself had chiselled his condemnation. In any case there is no archaeological evidence which refers to Sallust's government in Africa. Some reckoned that there is a record of Sallust's reign in the inscriptions which were discovered near to Constantine (limes fundi Sallustiani : C.I.L., VIII, 7148; Rec. Soc. arch. de Constantine, 1866, p. 74, but Pallu de Lessert (Proconsulaire, Numide, Mauretanie sous la domination Romaine, Paris, 1896, 1901, I, p.30()) does not believe that these inscriptions relate to Sallust.
- 60 'Sui Governatori della Numidia e sui Sexfascales e quin - quefascales', in Bull. dell' inst. di Con. Archaeol. Nov. 1852, p. 165.
- 61 Marquardt, op. cit., II, 452; Cfr. Bell Afr., 97; Dio, XLIII, 9; App. Bell. Civ., II, 100.
- 62 XLVIII, 21; XLIII, i; Pliny, V, 4, 25.
- 63 App. Bell. Civ., IV, 53.
- 64 Boissier, G., Esquisse d'une histoire de la conquête et de l'administration Romaine dans le Nord de l'Afrique et particulièrement dans la province de Numidia, Paris, Hatchette, 1878, p. 226.
- 65 Loc. cit.
- 66 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 97; Cf. App. Bell. Civ., II, 100; IV, 53: Dio, XLIII, 9.2.
- 67 Bocchus was granted a part of Juba's Kingdom and Massinissa's (App. Bell. Civ., IV, 54).

- 68 Sittius fought against Juba, rewarded by Caesar with best territory in Africa in addition to Cirta which was "regum Domus" (Pompey Mela, I, 30). Regarding Bogud who was allied to Caesar - he was not able to take an active role in African war, but he sent forces to support Caesar in Spanish war against the Pompeians; also he took part in the victory of Munda (Dio, XLIII, 36.1; XLIV, 38.2).
- 69 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 97, Bell. Civ., II, 38.
- 70 Luc., Pharsalia, IX, 948.
- 71 Iug., 19.3, but he mentioned in other chapters (78, 79) that the Philaenarum Arae were nearer to Cyrene than Carthage. He should have known the incorrect information which he mentioned in Chapter 19. (Gsell., Hist. Anc., VIII, p. 125, n.5 et suiv.); Cf. (Gsell, ibid., p. 163 et suiv).
- 72 I, 33.
- 73 Gsell, Hist. Anc., VIII, 164.
- 74 Ascari M.C., 'La tripolitania durante la dominazione dei Fenici, dei Carthagini, dei Numidi', in Boll. Geogr. Uff. Stueli, n.9-10, (luglio 1935 - giugno 1936), p.35, n.1.
- 75 His incorrect information is explicit in his text (C., 19) "ad Catabathmon qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, secondo mari prema Cyrene est Colonia Thereaeon, ac deinceps duae Syrtes interque eas Lepcis, deinde Philaenon arae quem locum Aegyptum versus finem imperi habuere Carthaginenses, post aliae punicae urbes".
- 76 He mentioned that Cirta is not far from the sea "haud longe a mari" (Sall. Iug., 21.2). While Pomponius Mela is more accurate when he said that Cirta is far from the sea "Procul a mari" (P. Mela, I, 30). As a matter of fact the distance between Cirta and the sea is 65 km.
- 77 Cf. Syme (R.), Sallust (1963)
- 78 Merighi A., op. cit., Vol. 1, p.117.
- 79 Caesar, Bell. Afr., 97.
- 80 e.g. Gsell S., 'L'huile de Leptis' in Rivista della Tripolitania, 1 (1924-25), p. 41-46, Haywood R.M., 'The oil of Leptis' in Class. Philol. XXXVI, (1941), p.246-56.
- 81 e.g. Townsend P.W., 'The oil tribute of Africa at the time of Julius Caesar' in Class. Philol. XXXV (1940), p. 278-83.
- 82 Lucanus, Phars. IX, 948-9

- 83 After Juba had occupied the city it became a part of his kingdom; Bell. Afr. 97; Caesar, Bell. Civ. 11, 38.
- 84 Romanelli, Leptis Magna, p.15.
- 85 Gsell, 'L'huile de Tripolit.', in Riv. della Tripolit. (1924) p.42.
- 96 Romanelli (op. cit., 15 n-1.) says that Juba usually did not stick to legal matters, but it is necessary to accept that he took into his consideration the results which brought about the aggression; Leptis Magna was an ally of Rome but not a part of the Roman province.
- 87 The Roman Provinces, p. 637
- 88 Caesar, Bell. Civ. 38.
- 89 Caesar, Bell. Afr. 97.
- 90 Haywood, 'The oil of Leptis' in Classical Philology XXXVI (1941), p. 246-56; Cf. Haywood R.M., 'Roman Africa' in Tenney Frank, An Economic Survey of Ancient Africa (1938), Vol. IV, p.46; Gsell, S., in Riv. Tripol. 1 (1924-5), p. 41-46; IRT. p. 77.
- 91 H.A. Vit. Sev. 18.3; Aurel. Vict. de Caesaribus, 41.
- 92 Aurel. Vict. 41.
- 93 Gsell S., in Riv. del Tripol. 1, 1924-25, p.41-46.
- 94 Romanelli p., Leptis Magna, p. 16.
- 95 Plutarch, Caesar, 55.1; Cf. Gsell S., Hist. Anc. V., p. 153, 191-192.
- 96 Plutarch, Caesar, 55.1.
- 97 Haywood R.M., Class. Philol. op. cit., p.250.
- 98 Olive thrives best when it is planted in rich soil and given a regular supply of water. To achieve such a supply the farmers of Roman North Africa often dammed the wadis to conserve the water brought by the winter rains, which they then used to irrigate their farms.
- 99 Aurel. Vict. 41 mentioned Tripolis. He probably referred to the three cities.
- 100 He was an orator and poet and a friend of Catullus and Cicero (Cf. Cat. 38.1; Cic., Fam. 12. 17-30). In the summer of 44, probably by Caesar's appointment, he went as a governor of Africa Vetus, and he continued to hold Africa for the Senate in disregard of the pretensions of Calvisius Salinus. In 43, the Triumvirs proscribed him and assigned the province to T. Sextius, governor of Africa Nova. See F.L. Ganter, Philologus, (1894), 132 ff., R. Syme, The Roman Revolution, 1951; Pallu de Lessert, fastes des provin. Afr., I, p.53; Broughton T.R.S., The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis, 1929, p. 71.

- 101 Dio XLVIII, 17.
- 102 Dio XLVIII, 21; App. Bell. Civ. IV, 36. Dio narrated the events which occurred and Appian did the same (App. Bell. Civ. IV, 53-56): there is a difference between their narrations, but Appian offers more details; Cf. Gsell S., Hist. Anc. VIII, p. 183.
- 103 App. Bell. Civ., III, 85.
- 104 It was assigned to him by a vote of the Senate, App. Bell. Civ., IV, 53, Cf. Ganter Art. Cit., p. 142; Syme R., 1951, p. 213.
- 105 C.I.L. VIII, 24106.
- 106 App. (Bell. Civ., IV, 53) mentioned that both of them were legati of Cornificius, while Dio said that the position of financial controller was trusted to Ventidius (Dio, XLVIII, 21).
- 107 Jullien Ch., op. cit., p. 169.
- 108 Arabio was the son of Massinissa II; he was one of the Pompeian followers. After Caesar's death he returned to Africa and supported Sextius against Cornificius and Laelius: when Sittius was killed, he recovered his dominion (property) (App. Bell. Civ. IV, 54; IV, 234, and probably he was able to get his father's lands as a reward for his help to Sextius. (Cicero, ad Atticum, XV, 17, 1.) Dio mentioned that Arabio was against T. Sextius at the beginning, but Appian did not refer to this. Some said that the past of Arabio did not indicate that he was against Sextius (Merighi, op. cit., p. 128 n.3). This is probably right, since Arabio was one of the Pompeian followers and Sextius was Caesar's supporter. But it seems that Arabio was promised by Sextius to get back his lands if he supported him against Cornificius. Thus he put his brave cavalry at Sextius' disposal and participated in the final victory.
- 109 App. Bell. Civ., IV, 56; Jullien Ch., op. cit., p. 169-70; Broughton T.R.S., The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis (1929), p. 61.
- 110 App. Bell. Civ., V, 3.
- 111 Jullien Ch., op. cit., p. 170.
- 112 App. Bell. Civ., V, 26, 102; Dio XLVIII, 22, 1ff; Cf. Syme R., Rom. Rev. p. 213.
- 113 App. Bell. Civ., V, 12, 26; Dio XLVIII, 22.
- 114 Dio, (LII, 43) mentioned that Lepidus caused damage to the Colony of Carthage and spoiled the property of the people. Also Tertullian referred to Lepidus' cruelty (Tertullian, de pallio, 1).

- 115 He got four legions from Sextius and six legions which had gathered in Africa and also another six legions were under his command when he took part in the Sicily campaign. Thus the total of his forces was the sixteen legions. But some of these legions were not well trained. Vell. patrec., 11, 80, 1.
- 116 Oxford Classical Dictionary ^{D.} = C.D., p.597.
- 117 Dio, LXIX, 14; Oros, IV, 18.
- 118 Concerning Augustus' policy of restoration of the State, see : Rostovzev M., The Economic and Social History of The Roman Empire; Romanelli, in Atti. del 30 Congresso di studi Romani, Bologna 1934, Vol. 1, pp.555-561.
- 119 Jullien Ch. A. op. cit., p. 170.
- 120 Dio, LI 15; Dio, LIII, 26; Suet. Caligula 26; Cf. Gsell. Hist. Anc. VIII 206-276.
- 121 Dio LI, 15.
- 122 Dio, LIII, 25; XLIII, 45; XLIX, 43; cf. Strabo, XVII, 3, 7.
- 123 Plutarch (Antonius 87) mentioned that Augustus gave the daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt, to Juba II, in marriage.
- 124 Ann. IV, 5.
- 125 "Numidische Münzen" Die Numider, Koln (1980) pp.45, 47; Muller, Numism. iii, 3ff.
- 126 Die Numider, Ibid.
- 127 Merighi, op. cit., p.131; regarding the aid which was offered to Juba II, to suppress the revolutions of the indigenous people, see Pallu de Lessert, op. cit. 1, p. 66; C.I.L., 1, 50-70.
- 128 Mommsen, The Roman Province, p. 114, n.2; Gsell S., Hist. Anc. VIII, p. 208; Muller (loc. cit.); Cf. Broughton T.S.R., op. cit. p. 72.
- 129 Gardthausen, V., Augustus und Seine Zeit, (1894) p. 388.
- 130 Boissier, op. cit., p. 191; Cf. Broughton T.R.S., op. cit. p.72.
- 131 Merighi, op. cit., p. 134.
- 132 Dio, LIII, 26; Tac. Ann., IV, 5; Ayache A., Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord (1976), p.39.
- 133 Ayache A., loc. cit.; Cf. Strabo XVII, 3, 7; Dio LIII, 26, XLVIII, 45.
- 134 Dio, LIII, 12.

- 135 Ayache, A., loc. cit.
- 136 Dio, LIII, 26; Tac. Ann., IV, 5; Dio, XLIII, 12; Gsell, S. Hist. Anc., VIII, p. 207 ff.
- 137 Boissier, op. cit., p. 228.
- 138 Merighi, op. cit., p. 135; Cf. Tac. Ann. IV. 5; Solinus XXVI, 16.
- 139 M.P. Speidel, "An urban cohort of the Mauretanian kings" in Antiquités Africaines, t.14 (1979) pp.121-22.
- 140 La Cyrenaica Romana, 1943, p. 72; idem Leptis Magna, 1925, p.16.
- 141 Pliny, N.H., V, 5, 36-37. At the time of Pliny's sources, the province of Cyrenaica seems to begin at the lesser Syrtis (H.N., V. 25 and 38).
- 142 Tac. Ann. III 74. The participation of the Garamantes in this war led De Pachtère to suggest that Leptiminus is the Leptis of the Tacitean account (Cf. Broughton, op. cit. p. 91 n.19.)
- 143 Gsell, Hist. Anc., VIII, p. 164.
- 144 N.H., V, 5, 38; VI, 33, 209.
- 145 Ibid.
- 146 Elmayer, A.F., Cyrenaica under the Roman Rule (1976), p. 150.
- 147 Pliny, N.Y., V, 4, 28, 29; Cf. Jullien Ch., op. cit., p. 181.
- 148 Gsell, S. Hist. Anc. IV, p. 40, n.5; VIII, pp.164-8, n.6.
- 149 Jullien Ch., op. cit., pp.180-181.
- 150 Bénabou, M., La Résistance Africaine à la Romanisation, 1976, p. 512.
- 151 I.R.T. 930, Neo-Punic. No. 6.
- 152 Op. cit., I, p. 137.
- 153 Romanelli, P., 'L'opera di Augusto in Africa', in Atti de ll Cong. (1934) Studi Romani, p.558 "the place called in Latin Arae Philaenorum". The altars of the Philaeni on the Gulf of Sidra.

CHAPTER III

- 1 This is known from the fact that when Numidia was exposed to the peril of tribal revolt, the proconsul was always the commander of the troops which defended it against those rebels.
- 2 Dio., LV, 28, 4.
- 3 Inscriptiones Italiae 3, 569; Gsell S., Hist. Ancienne., VIII, p.197; Romanelli, Storia, 175ff.
- 4 C.I.L., 1, 2 p.50; Cagnat, op.cit., 2. p.1 ff.; Syme R., Roman Papers, 1979, p.222.
- 5 Pliny, N.H., V, 34-38.
- 6 Vell. Pat., II, 116; C.I.L., VIII, 16456; ILS 120.
- 7 Orosius, VI, 21; Vell. Pat., II, 116; Florus, IV, 12, 40.
- 8 Suetonius in Pallu de Lessert, Fastes des provinces africaines sous la domination romaine, Paris, (1896-1901), 1, p.70.
- 9 Pliny, N.H., loc. cit.
- 10 Gsell S., Hist. anc., V. p.136; Cf. Pliny, N.H. V5, 3, 6, 38; Solinus, XXIX, 6 Id.26; Tac. Hist., IV, 50; Tac. Ann. IV, 23; Scullard, From The Gracchi to Nero, ed.5(1982), p.252.
- 11 Romanelli, P., Storia, 1959, p.177.
- 12 Herodotus, IV, 174, Pliny N.H., V, 8.45; Gautier E.F., Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord. Les siècles obscures. Paris, 1942, (transl. by H. Hussini, Tripoli, 1970), pp.24-25.
- 13 Herodotus, IV, 174-184.
- 14 Pliny, V, 8.45; Mela P., I.8; There was a belief that the Garamantes were the ancestors of the Tibu, but archaeological excavations have revealed that there were other races living in Fezzan before the Garamantes, Libya in History, op. cit., pp.205-206.
- 15 Vivien de Saint Martin, Nord de l'Afrique, op. cit., p.48ff.
- 16 Gsell, S., Hist. anc., IV, 139 n.3.
- 17 Cf. Strabo ii, 5; Pliny N.H. V, 5, 38; Tac. Hist. IV, 50; Vivien de Saint Martin, op. cit., p.112.
- 18 Pliny N.H., V, 5, 38; C.I.L., I, 461, Solinus, 29, 7, Strabo, III, 5, 8.

- 19 Pliny, loc. cit.; B. Pace (in Il Sahara Italiano, 1, p.286) believes that the expedition started from Sabratha, followed by Ayob, M.S., in Libya in history, op. cit., p.207; Ghisleri, A., (La Libya nella storia e nei Viaggiatori, Torino, 1928, p.29) believes that it is Oea.
- 20 Pliny, V, 5, 34ff.; Charles Daniels, The Garamantes of Southern Libya, The Oleander Press, London, 1970, p.16.
- 21 Pliny, (N.H. V, 5, 33-38), begins his narration by general description of the places and peoples as Herodotus before him. (Herod. Hist., IV, 172, 190, 168; ii, 32).
- 22 There are some attempts to relate Pliny's names to recent towns and places; Merighi, A., op. cit., 1, p.164; L'Hote H., The search for the Tassili Frescoes, 1960, pp.129-32.
- 23 Pliny, loc. cit., Solinus 29, 7.
- 24 Ptolemy, IV, 7.
- 25 Ptolemy, IV, 3-6.
- 26 Pliny N.H., V, 5, 36, 38.
- 27 Pliny, V, 38; Tac. Ann. IV, 23-4; Tac. hist., IV, 50.
- 28 Dio, LV, 28, 4; Florus, II, 31; Orosius, Hist. adv. pag. vi, 21, 18.
- 29 "Provincia bello Gaetulico liberata" IRT, 301, Mauretania is implied by the participation of Juba II.
- 30 Orosius, VI, 24.
- 31 Cagnat R., L'armée Romaine, p.8.
- 32 Florus, II, 31.
- 33 Vell. Pat., II, 116; Cf. Romanelli P., La Cirenaica Romana, 1943, p.76; Bénabou, op. cit., p.64.
- 34 Syme R., Roman papers, 1979, p.222.
- 35 IRT, 301, Provincia Africa bello Gaetulico liberata; AE 1940, 68
- 36 Mazard J., Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque, Paris, 1955, Nos.198, 199, coins of that year show the Sella Curulis the sceptre and the gold crown; Cf. Müller, Nummisi de l'Afr. anc. III, no. 70 (Coin of Juba); De la Blanchère, De rege Juba II, p.27.
- 37 Gsell S., Anc. Hist. VIII, p.228.

- 38 Dio LV, 28.
- 39 Bénabou M., La résistance africaine, 1976, p.65.
- 40 Merighi A., op. cit., 1, p.191.
- 41 Syme R., Roman papers, 1979, p.224.
- 42 IRT. 346, IRT. 93.
- 43 Syme R., Roman papers, loc. cit.
- 44 Orosius, VI, 21, 18 "Musulamios et Gaetulos latius vagantes Cossus dux Caesaris artatis finibus cohercuit atque a Romanis limitibus abstinere metu compulit". (Ibid) "Artatis finibus". This certainly suggests limitation of some sort, which probably began twenty years earlier before Tacfarinas revolt; Broughton, op. cit., pp.89-90; Rachet, op. cit., p.90.
- 45 Tacitus is the main source for the struggle against Tacfarinas (Annals, II, 52; III, 20, 21, 32, 35, 73, 74; IV, 23, 24); Aurel. Vict. (De Caes., 2, 3); Cagnat, L'armée romaine d'Afrique et l'occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les empereurs, Paris, (2nd ed.), 1913, p.9f.; Syme R., "Tacfarinas, the Musulamii and Thubursicu", in Studies in Roman economic and social history, 1951; Romanelli, P. Storia, 1959, p.229f.; Benabou 1976, p.75.
- 46 Tac. Ann., ii, 52, 2 for Cinithii (Tripolitanian tribes) See Ptolemy, IV, 3, 22; Pliny N.H., V, 4, 30 (Cinithii); C.I.L., 10500 (Praef. gentis Cinithiorum).
- 47 Tac. Ann. II, 52, 4.
- 48 Mazard, op. cit., 1955, n.202-203.
- 49 Tac. Ann., III, 20-21.
- 50 Tac. Ann., III, 20, 1.
- 51 Tac. Ann., III, 21, 72; IV, 23; Vell. Paterc., II, 125, 5.
- 52 Tac. Ann., III, 21, 2.
- 53 Tac. Ann. III, 9.
- 54 Tac. Ann., III, loc. cit.; ID., IV, 23.
- 55 Ibid. III, 73 "huc arrogantiae, ut legatos ad Tiberium mitteret sedemque ultro sibi atque exercitui suo postularet" (ibid).

- 56 Ibid., III, 73, 3 "Dat negtium Blaeso ceteros quidem ad spem proliceret arma sine noxa ponendi" (ibid.); Rachet, op. cit., p.90; Cagnat R., op. cit., pp.20-21.
- 57 Tac. Ann. iii, 74, 2; IV, 3; Romanelli P. (Leptis Magna, p.18, n.1) believes that it was Leptic Magna because Tripolitania and especially, this city was exposed to Garamantes incursions more than other regions (ibid.).
- 58 Tac. Ann., iii, 742; Cf. Broughton P., op. cit., pp.94-95.
- 59 Tac. Ann., iii, 72 "Caesar, cum Inunium Blaesum....triumphi insignibus attollec, dare id se dixit honori Seiani, cuius ille avunculus erat. Attamen res Blaesi dignae decori tali fuere" (ibid.); Cf. ibid., 74; Vell. Pat. II, 125.
- 60 Jullien Ch., op. cit., p.180; Cf. Tac. Ann., IV, 26.
- 61 ILS 939, 12.
- 62 Tac. Ann., IV, 24; R. Syme, "Tacfarinas, the Musulamii, and Thubursicu" Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of A.C. Johnson, Princetown 1951, p.113ff. = Roman Papers, p.221.
- 63 Tac. Ann., IV, 23-25; Syme R., Roman Papers, 221, n.5.
- 64 Bartocin i, in Epigraphica, 1958, XX, pp.3-13; AE 1940, AE 1961, no.107, 108; M. Rachet, Rome et les Berbers, Collection Latomus, Vol.110, 1970, p.122; Benabou, op. cit., p.82; Syme R., Roman Papers, p.223.
- 65 IRT. 596, a,b); Rachet M., op. cit., p.122 n.5.
- 66 Tac. Ann., IV, 26; Livy, XXX, 15; XLII, 14.
- 67 Tac. Ann., IV, 26.
- 68 Tac. Ann., IV, 23-4.
- 69 Tac. Ann., IV, 26.
- 70 Romanelli, Storia, 1959, p.244; these tribes were attributed to Gighthis which was one of the Tripolitanian cities, (Cf. Broughton, op. cit., p.92)
- 71 C.I.L., VIII, 227, 86.
- 72 Cagnat R., op. cit., p.25.
- 73 Cf. Broughton, op. cit., p.93.
- 74 Tac. Hist., IV, 49 and 50.
- 75 Broughton T.R.S., op. cit., pp.94-95.
- 76 Jullien Ch., op. cit., p.181.

- 77 IRT., 269, Garzetti, op. cit., p.30; 77.
- 78 Pallu de Lessert, Fastes, pp.118 ff., 312.
- 79 Tac. Hist., IV, 48; Dio, LIX, 20. The two historians suggest that the emperor was afraid of the proconsul, but name two different names. Tacitus calls him M. Silanus, while Dio, Lucius Pino.
- 80 Bénabou, op. cit., pp.85-87; Cf. Cagnat R., op. cit., pp.26-27
- 81 C.I.L., VIII, 8, 24, 84, 98, 110; Jullien, p.198, Romanelli, Storia, p.250f.
- 82 C.I.L., VIII, 7965, 7975, 7976, 7979; Gsell, Inscriptions Latines de l'Algerie, 1911, IX ff.
- 83 C.I.L., VIII, 10048, 10014; Tissot, op. cit., 11, p.33.
- 84 De Ruggerio, E., Diz. Epigraphico, p.327, 240; on the relation of the legate and the proconsul until the constitution of the province of Numidia under Septimius Severus, see Cagnat R., L'armée, op. cit., p.26; Schulten, Das romische Afrika, p.98 n.29.
- 85 Tac. Ann. 12, 43; Tac. Hist. 1, 73, ibid. Hist. 3, 48; Hist. 4, 38; Cf. Pliny N.H., XV, 8; Horace, Odes, 1, 1, 10; Juvenal, Sat. VIII, 117-8.
- 86 Tac. Hist., I, 73; Cf. Broughton, op. cit., p.111.
- 87 Tac. Hist. I, 37.
- 88 Burton, G.P., 'The issuing of Mandata to proconsuls' in Zeitschrift papyrologie und epigraphik, 1976, p.68; on the relations between the emperors and provincial governors. See Millar F., 'The Emperor, The Senate and the Provinces' in JRS, LVI, 1964, p.165ff.; Millar F., The Emperor in the Roman World, 1977, p.313 ff.
- 89 C.I.L., X, 65, 69; Dio LIX, 20. At the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla and Geta, the name of this legate was L. Julius Victor Modianus (C.I.L., VIII, 7053).
- 90 Dio., LX, 15; L, 8; Pliny, N.H., V, 1, 11-15; Solinus, 24, 15.
- 91 Dio., loc. cit.
- 92 Suetonius, Galba, 7; Dio LX, 9; Aurel. Vict., De Caes, IV, 2.
- 93 Tac. Hist., IV, 49.
- 94 Tac. Hist., II, 98; IV, 48.

- 95 Tac. Hist., IV, 50; Pliny, V, 5, 36, 38; Solinus, XXIX, 6.
- 96 Cagnat R., L'armée Romaine, p.37; Romanelli, Storia, 1959, pp.288-289.
- 97 Cf. Romanelli, Storia, 1959, pp.288-289; K.M. Dunbabin, The Mosaics of Roman North Africa, Oxford, 1978, pp.235-237.
- 98 Idem.
- 99 Daniels Ch., op. cit., p.22.
- 100 Pliny, N.H., V, 5, 36.
- 101 Romanelli, Storia, 1959, pp.290-291. Cf. Peroud, Cl., op. cit. p.48.
- 102 M.S. Ayob , Garama, Tripoli, 1979, p.145.
- 103 Ibid., p.146.
- 104 Op. cit., pp.101-102.
- 105 Cf. Tac. Hist., IV, 50.
- 106 On the problem of roads in the Fezzan, see Romanelli P., Storia, 1959, pp.290-291; Cf. Herodotus, IV, 147, 183; Gsell S., Hist. anc., IV, p.138.
- 107 Ptolemy, I, 8, 4-9, X, 2; Romanelli, Lepcis Magna, p.19.
- 108 Ptolemy, I, 8, 4-9; I, 10.
- 109 As the evidence (epigr.) from Theveste (C.I.L., VIII, 1839, C.I.L., VIII, 16499) and from Syrtis Major (IRT, 854; Cerrata, L. Sirtis, 1933, p.181) confirm that Suellius Flaccus was the legate of the legio III Augusta at that time (A.D. 87) we think that the name of the leader of the first expedition was Suellius and not Septimius as is mentioned by Marinus of Tyre. As for Maternus we think we have to follow Bénabou (op. cit., p.108) that he was a mere trader and not a legate of III Augusta or his deputy as Cagnat R. (op. cit., p.42) thought.
- 110 Ptolemy, I, 8, 5; Desanges J.D., 'Note sur la datation de l'expédition de Julius Maternus au pays d'Agisymba: Latomus XXIII (1964) pp.713-725.
- 111 Ptolemy, (loc. cit.).
- 112 Zonaras, Epitom. Historiarum, XI, XIX; Bates, O. The eastern Libyans (Macmillan, London 1914), p.234.
- 113 Solinus, 30. 2.

- 114 Strabo, 2.5.33, 17.3.19.
- 115 Hist. Anc., XIII, (1921), p.298.
- 116 G. Charles-Picard, Daily life in Carthage 215.
- 117 B. Pace, S. Sergi and G. Caputo, Monumenti antichi, Vol.XLI: Scavi Sahariani: ricerche nell'uadi el-Agial e nell'oasi di Gat (Rome 1951) pp.461-465, 480, 493-499.
- 118 Idem.; Daniels Ch., The Garamantes, 1970; p.27 ff.
- 119 Ptolemy, 1, 7, i-12; VII, 5.
- 120 Walkenaer, Cosmology, 1815, p.239; Vivien de Saint Martin, Le Nord de l'Afrique, p.216, 217.
- 121 Berthelot A., L'Afrique Saharienne et Soudennaise: ce qu'en ont connu les anciens, (1927), pp.406-407.
- 122 Op. cit., p.221, 1 n.3.
- 123 Wellard, J., The great Sahara, Hutchinson, London, 1964, (Arabic Transl.), p.75.
- 124 Frank M., Snowden, Jr., Blacks in Antiquity, London, 1970, pp.135-136.
- 125 C.I.L., IX, 4194; Cagnat R., L'armée, p.38ff.; Garzetti From Tiberius to the Antonines, (1974, English Transl. by J.R. Foster) p.289.
- 126 Jos. Flav. Bell.Iud., II, 16; Gsell S., Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien, (1894) p.234ff; Garzetti, loc. cit.
- 127 Zonaras, loc. cit.; Cagnat R., L'armée, p.401, Vivien de Saint Martin, Le nord de l'Afrique; p.223.
- 128 IV, 172, 190.
- 129 Luc., IX, 438; Sil. Ital., 40, 408; Müller, Numism., II, 440.
- 130 Zonaras, loc. cit., Flav. J., Bell. Iud. II, 16.
- 131 Romanelli P., Storia, 1959, pp.301-305.
- 132 Ayoub, M.S., Gerama, Tripoli, 1969, p.148.
- 133 Apud Ptolemy, 8, 4, 9.
- 134 Zonaras, loc. cit., Gsell S., Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien, Paris, (1894), pp.235-236, Garzetti, op. cit., p.276.
- 135 Ptolemy, IV, 5, 21, 30.

- 136 Corradi, De Rugiero, Diz. Epigr. ii, S.v. 'Domitianus'.
- 137 Cf. Romanelli P., Storia, pp.301-305.
- 138 Cagnat R., L'armée, p.1ff.
- 139 On the road system see Toutain, Les cités, op. cit., p.143; Goodchild R.G., The Roman roads and milestones in Tripolitania, Reports and Monographs of the Department of Antiquities in Tripoli, 1948.
- 140 Cf., Apuleius, Apology, XCIII.
- 141 I.L. AL. 3062; 3063 (A.D.211-2). Cf. Broughton, op. cit., p.159 ff.
- 142 Merlin, Chatelain and Cagnat, Inscrip. lat. d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie et Algerie), : 'C. Claudius C.F. Col. Paulus Veteranus commodis honoratus Sibi fecit' (ibid.).
- 143 Cf. De Mathusieux H.M., La Tripolitaine ancienne et moderne. Étude de l'Assoc. Historique de l'Afrique du Nord, V, Paris 1906; Di Giovanni, Tripolis, ii, p.57ff.

CHAPTER IV

- 1 C.I.L., VIII, 10016 (dating from 97 A.D.).
- 2 Bénabou, op. cit., p.115.
- 3 Pliny, N.H. XVIII, 35; Julien (Ch.), 217.
- 4 Thompson L., in: Africa in classical Antiquity (eds. L. Thompson J. Ferguson, 1969) p.180; Whittaker Ch., 'Land and labour in North Africa', Klio 60 (1978), pp.342-43.
- 5 Kolendo J., Le Colonat, in Afrique sous le haut-Empire (1976), (n.52) 16
- 6 Tac. Ann. III, 73, IV. 23; Syme R., 'Tacfarinas and Thubursicum', in Studies in Roman economic history (1961), pp. 113-130.
- 7 Tac. Ann. II, 52; III, 74.
- 8 Storia, 1959, p.244.
- 9 IV, 3, 6.
- 10 C.I.L., VIII, 22729, Broughton, op. cit., p.92, 123 n.17.
- 11 Herodotus, IV, 172-173; Pliny N.H. XIV; Ptolemy, IV. 4.6.
- 12 Whittaker Ch., Klio, LX (1978), p.348.
- 13 IRT. 854
- 14 Herodotus, IV, 174.
- 15 Livy, XXXX, 33.
- 16 Pliny N.H., V, 38; Tac. Hist., IV, 50.
- 17 The merchandise in transit has been revealed by recent Italian excavations in the neighbourhood of Garama, Chap. IX, p. n.
- 18 Daniels Ch., The Garamantes of the Southern Libya (1970) pp.36-44.
- 19 Sallust, Bell. Jug. XLVIII. 4.
- 20 Brogan O., 'First and second century settlements in the Tripolitanian predesert', Libya in History (Historical Conference, 1968) = L.I.H., pp.121-28.
- 21 Broughton, op. cit., p.96; Fentress, op.cit., p.72.

- 22 Fentress, loc. cit.
- 23 IRT, 854; 'Inter nationem Muduciuuorum e Zamuciorum'.
- 24 Contra Broughton, op. cit., p.122.
- 25 Broughton, T.R.S., op. cit., pp.119-120.
- 26 C.I.L., VIII, 10667; 16692, ILS 5959.
- 27 I.L.AL., 2939 bis; Cf. Gsell, I.L.AL., p. 267.
- 28 Julien, op. cit., p.217; here it is not certain either what a municipium was or how the status of a municipium was acquired; for this problem see Millar F., The emperor in the Roman World, 1977, pp.394 ff.
- 29 Pliny N.H., IV, 8, 27.
- 30 C.I.L., V 27187.
- 31 Julien, loc. cit.
- 32 Romanelli P., Storia, 1959, p.324.
- 33 C.I.L., VIII, 83.
- 34 ILS 93 80, 9381.
- 35 Rachet, op. cit., p.68; idem., p.90.
- 36 Bénabou, op. cit., p.431.
- 37 Loc. cit.
- 38 Bénabou, op. cit., pp.70-71, 109.
- 39 Idem. Contra Rachet M., op. cit., pp.79-80, 164, 173; Leschi L., 'Rome et les Nomades du Sahara Central', in: Etudes d'épigraphie, d'archéologie et d'histoire Africaine, (1957) pp.65-78.
- 40 Troussset P., Recherches sur le 'limes Tripolitanus' du Chott el-Dejrid à la frontière Tuniso - Libyenne (1974), p.24.
- 41 Whittaker Ch., Klio 60 (1978) pp.349-50.
- 42 Fentress, op. cit., p.73.
- 43 Tertullian, De Anima, XXX.3.
- 44 Jullien, op. cit., p.218.
- 45 Ch. Picard, Civilization, pp.6-8.
- 46 Broughton, op. cit., p.134.

- 47 C.I.L., VIII, 10, idem, 2289, Garzetti, p.344; Gascou, op.cit., 209-211; Bénabou, op. cit., p.108; Ch.VI (below).
- 48 Pliny, Epit., 2.11.23.
- 49 Cf. Birley A., Septimius Severus, 1970, p.40.
- 50 Pliny, Ep., 2.11.23; Syme R., Tacitus, 1958, p.70f.
- 51 Juvenal I. 49-59; Birley A., op. cit., p.42.
- 52 Gascou J., op. cit., p.40.
- 53 Broughton, op. cit., p.126.
- 54 C.I.L., VIII, 26416 (Ain Wassel); C.I.L., VIII, 25943 (Ain el Djemala).
- 55 Cf. Broughton, op. cit., p.165, 168, 171ff. Haynes op. cit., 51.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 C.I.L., VIII, 2532.
- 58 C.I.L., VIII, 2533; idem 2532; Vit. Hadriani, 13, 5; 22, 14.
- 59 Boissier, op. cit., p.108.
- 60 H.A., Vita Hadriana, 6. 7, 12, 7 and Vit.Had. 5,12; there were also other tribal revolts at the time of Marcus Aurelius (Vit. Marci. Ant. 21; Vit. Sev. 2) and Commodus, (Vit. Commodi, 13; C.I.L., VI, 31856).
- 61 Thomasson, B., Die Statthalter des romischen provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diokletanus. Lund, 1960, p.255.
- 62 Op. cit., p.137, 139.
- 63 Vit. Ant. Pii. 5,12; Pausan, VIII, 43. 3.
- 64 Cf. Vit. Ant. Pii. 7,1, 'provinciae....cunctae floruerunt' IRT p.24 (Sabratha); Also the surviving monuments in Oea are a good testimony for its flourishing during the Antonines period (IRT. 232 the arch of M. Aurelius; IRT. 230 (the Commodan temple to the Genius Coloniae).
- 65 IRT. p.81 n.B; Vit. Ant. Pii., 6,1-2; Idem; 7,1.
- 66 IRT. 24.
- 67 C.I.L., VIII, 10=IRT. 353, 523, 537; Millar F., The Emperor in the Roman World, 1977, p.407. Millar says that "It is a pure assumption that this inscription on the arch of Trajan records the actual moment when the title was conferred (ibid. no.72).

- 68 Aurigemma (S.), 'L'arco di Marco Aurelio, in Tripoli' in Bollettino d'arte del ministro della pubblica Istruzione, 1926, pp.554-570.
- 69 Aurigemma S., "Aspetti della vita pubblico e privata nei minicipi della Tripolitania Romana" in Riv. della Tripolitania Romana, XVIII, 1940, p.11; Cf. Broughton, op. cit., p.165.
- 70 C.I.L., VIII, 16542; 16543; Gsell, IL. Alg., 1, 3063; Gsell, IL. Alg., 1, 3062; Pflaum H.G., Les Carrières procuratoriennes Equestres sous le haut-Empire Romain, 1960, No.302. 1,2.
- 71 Art. cit., p.15.
- 72 Bartoccini R., "Recenti scavi di Sabratha e di Lepcis", Rivista della Tripolitania, 1, (1924-25), pp.292-295.
- 73 Bartoccini R., 'Il foro imperiale di Lepcis Magna', Afr. Italiana, ii (1928), p.28; IRT, 567-8.
- 74 Aurigemma S., loc. cit.
- 75 Bartoccini R., 'Le terme di Lepcis Magna', Riv. della Tripol., 1, p.308; Romanelli P., Lepcis Magna, p.125; IRT, 263.
- 76 Aurigemma S., in Riv. della Tripol., XVIII, 1940, p.15.
- 77 The three Punic cities probably owed their elevation to colonial status to their degree of Romanization and prosperity, see (n.3) p.15 Ch. VII.
- 78 Gsell, S., Riv. della Tripol., 1924-25, pp.41-6.
- 79 On limitatio and defensio, see Rostovtzeff, Klio, 1911, p.387.

CHAPTER V

- 1 See Birley A.R., Septimius Severus, the African Emperor, London, 1971, pp.144-189.
- 2 See Ch. III p.53, n.93.
- 3 G.M. Bersanetti, Aegyptus, XXIX, 1949, p.79; G. Barbieri, Epigraphica XIII-XIV (1952), 3.
- 4 Dio, LXXIII, 14, 3; LXXIV, 9, 1; H.A. Vit. Did. IVL, 5, 1-3; Vit. Sev. 5, 7-8.
- 5 Birley, A.R., Septimius Severus, the African Emperor, London, 1971, pp. 159, 160.
- 6 Cf. Herodian II, 9, 2; 15, 1-5; Dio LXXIII, 17, 2-4; Vit. Did. Iul. 6, 9; Vit. Sev. 5, 7.
- 7 Dio LXXV, 7, 1-8; H.A. Vit. Sev. 11, 6-9; for the details of Severus' wars against his rivals, see Birley A.R., op. cit., pp. 172-200.
- 8 Dio LXXV.8.5.; Birley, A.R., op. cit., pp.198, 199.
- 9 H.A. Vit. Sev. 12, 7 "Ultus igitur graviter Albinianam defectionem".
- 10 H.A. Vit. Sev. 13, 1-7.
- 11 Dio LXXV, 8,4.
- 12 Barbieri G., op. cit., p.6.
- 13 Birley A.R., op. cit., p.199.
- 14 Ibid., p.200.
- 15 Barbieri G., op. cit., p.7.
- 16 Although Aurelius Victor (de Caes. 20.6,10) criticised him for his cruelty, he called him wise and victor especially in war. Herodian (3.7.7-8) describes him as astute African. Also he was hot tempered (Julien, Caesar, 312D); Barbieri G., op. cit., p.8.
- 17 H.A. Vit. Sev., 4,1.
- 18 Cf. Barnes T.D., "The Life and family of Septimius Severus" in Historia, XVI, 1967, p.87; Birley A.R., op. cit., 1971, p.2.
- 19 Aurel. Vict., Caes., XX, 28.

- 20 Silvae, 4.5-6 "Non sermo poenus, non habitus tibi, externo non mens, Italus, Italus!" (Ibid.). Statius' poem is discussed by Birley A.R., op. cit., p.37-39.
- 21 Historia Aug. Vit. Sev., 1.
- 22 Romanelli P., "Fulvii Lepcitani" in Archeologica Classica, X, (Rome) 1958, p.261.
- 23 H.A., XIX, IX, 15.7.
- 24 "Fulvii Lepcitani" in Archeologica Classica, Vol. X, Roma (1958), p.261; Id. Storia, 1959, p. 393.
- 25 Aurigemma S., Quaderni di Archeologica della Libia, 1, (1950) p.65; followed by T.D. Barnes, "The family and career of Septimius Severus" in Historia, XVI, 1967, p.96 and Birley A.R., op. cit., 1971, p.35.
- 26 Barnes T.D., op. cit., p.97.
- 27 Dio LXXVII (76).16.3; below no.75.
- 28 Statius, Silvae, 4.5-6; A.R. Birley's theory (in JB, 1969, p.255) says that it is possible that the first of the Septimii of Lepcis owed their names and rank of Roman citizen to Septimius Flaccus, legate of III Augusta (ibid.).
- 29 Statius, Silvae, loc. cit.
- 30 IRT. 412; cf. Bénabou, op. cit., p.525.
- 31 P. Septimius Aper is attested as Consul in 153 (C.I.L., ii, 2008; T.D. Barnes, Historia, XVI, 1967, p.90.
- 32 Bénabou, loc. cit.
- 33 E.g., F. Millar, A study of Cassius Dio, 1964, p.150; Birley A.R., op. cit., p.20. 44.
- 34 Barnes, T.D., The sources of the historia Augusta, in Collection Latomus, Vol.155 (1978), p.19; cf. H.A., Vit. Sev. 1.3. (8-4-146); Dio(LXXVII-17-4) gives 11 April 145.
- 35 Above (p.1ff).
- 36 Romanelli P. , 1925, n.20.
- 37 H.A. Vit. Sev. 1,2.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Romanelli P., "Fulvii Lepcitani" in Archeologica Classica, Vol.X, Roma (1958) p.258.

- 40 Ibid., followed by Bénabou, op. cit., p.514.
- 41 ILS. 1328; 900314; Quirinia was the tribe of those who acquired the citizenship while the town was a municipium (IRT. 350, 352).
- 42 Barnes T.D., Historia, XVI (1967) p.89.
- 43 IRT., p.82; nos. 350, 352.
- 44 IRT., 291.
- 45 Herodian, iii.10.5; Romanelli P. Epigraphica Class., op. cit., p.259.
- 46 Herodian, iii, 11.2-3 Plautianus' power is attested by inscriptions even though on most his names have been erased. Birley, p.234, n.1.
- 47 IRT., 524, 530.
- 48 Herodian, 3-11.1-12.12; Birley A.R., op. cit., p.234.
- 49 Cf. Cicero, Verres, i, v, 155 (T. Herrenius).
- 50 IRT. 599.
- 51 Birley A.R., op. cit., p.87.
- 52 IRT., 633.
- 53 Birley, A.R., loc. cit.
- 54 Historia, XVI, 1967, p.88, 89, latus clavus, H.A., Sev.1.5.
- 55 Dio, LXXVII (76) 16, 17.
- 56 H.A., Vit. Sev. 2.6; Barnes, op. cit., 94.
- 57 Ibid., 2.8; cf. Dio LXXVL.11.1.
- 58 Barnes, ibid.
- 59 Ibid., p.93, 94.
- 60 Herodian, 2.9.2.
- 61 H.A. 1; Romanelli, Lepcis Magna, p.20; Chap. VIII (Culture).
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- 63 Dio 79(78)8.6).
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- 65 IRT., 541; Bersanetti, Epigraphica IV (1942) p.105ff.; Albo.569.
- 66 H.A., Pert. 4.5.
- 67 Barnes T.D., Historia XV, p.94 n.56.
- 68 Birley, A.R., op. cit., p.152-3
- 69 Cf. R. Werner, Klio XXVI (1933) 312; Barnes T.D., op. cit. p.94.
- 70 Regarding his wars against his rivals, see Birley A.R., op. cit. pp.172-189.
- 71 Dio LXXVII (76) 16.2; Barbieri G., Epigraphica 14 (1952), p.6, 46; Barnes T.D., Historia 16 (1967) 99.
- 72 Broughton T.R.S., op. cit., (1929) 153; Romanelli P. Storia 1959, p.435, n.3.
- 73 Haywood R.M. TAPA, 71 (1940) p.175ff; followed by Barnes, T.D., Historia XVI (1967) p.107.
- 74 Cf. IRT, 22, 23, 64.
- 75 Dio LXXVII (76) 16.3; T.D. Barnes, Historia 16, p.104 n.134.
- 76 H.A., Vit. Sev., XXIII. 6-24.5.
- 77 H.A. Vit. Sev. XXIV.3; Septimius Severus wanted to make an entrance into the Palatine house. Alexander too wanted to do this, but he did not. (H.A. Vit. Sev. XXIII. 6-24.5)
- 78 Romanelli P., Storia, 1959, p.421. Contra Haywood R.M., op. cit., pp.180-81; followed by Barnes T.D., op. cit. p.97, n.77.
- 79 E.G. IRT. 392, 395, 296; Pflaum H.G., Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire romain (1961), p.644.
- 80 Dio, LXXV, XV, 3-7; PIR². F.55; Albo 255, 521, 554 - Plautianus' power is attested by inscriptions, even though on most of them his names have been erased. He was made a patrician, pontifex (and XV vir), was Comes per omnes expeditiones of the emperors; Dio (LXXV, XV, 1) records that Septimius' own position was inferior to that of Plautianus and that someone actually dared to write to him as fourth Caesar (Birley A.R., op. cit., p.235, n.1).
- 81 IRT. 530, Bandinelli R.B., and others, The buried city, excavations at Lepcis Magna, transl. by David Ridgway, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London (1964), p.20.
- 82 Caputo G., "Iunius Punicus" in Epigraphica (1939), 1, pp.163-171; Pflaum H.G., Les Carrières, II, p.654.
- 83 Pflaum H.G., Les Carrières, II, p.656; Bénabou, op. cit., p.531.

- 84 IRT. 395, 407, 424.
- 85 IRT. 388, 440.
- 86 IRT. 432.
- 87 Albo 440; IRT. 295.
- 88 IRT. 401.
- 89 H.A. Vit. Sev. 18; Aurel. Vic. 41, 19. This tribute was compulsory under Caesar (Bel. Afri. 97); Cf. Bénabou, op. cit., p.530.
- 90 The majority of these men were from Numidia, see Barbieri, G., Epigraphica XIII-XIV, pp.12ff. T. Claudius Claudianus, from Numidia, was promoted to the rank of Consul in 199 (see PIR². C834; Albo 147; Barnes T.D., Historia XVI, 1967, p.99. Claudius Gellus, from Numidia, the legate of XXII Primigenia, led the campaign against the Parthians (in 197/8) (See AE. 1957. 123; Barnes T.D. op. cit., p.101; Birley A.R., op. cit., p.170; Q. Cornelius Valerius, from Numidia, was the legate of Numidia (201-208) (See Albo (1949 and Agg.) L. Alfenus Senecio, a Numidian, occupied an important position at this time (See App. iii; Barnes T.D., op. cit., p.102; Birley A.R., op. cit., p.171.
- 91 Barbieri G., Epigraphica, 14, 1952, p.44ff.
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- 99 IRT. 292; cf. Guey J., 'Lepcimana Septimiana VI', RA 94, (1950) 55.
- 100 Cf. Ioppolo G., "Appunto sull' anastilosi dell' arco di Settimio Severo a Leptis" Libya Antiqua V [1968] p.79; Cf. Birley A.R., op. cit., p.218.
- 101 Ch. Walter, "The Dextrarum Junction of Lepcis Magna in Relationship to the Iconography of Marriage", AF., t.14 (1979) pp.271-283.

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- 109 Romanelli P., Storia, 1959, p.418; CAH, XII, p.25.
- 110 Haywood R.M., op. cit., pp.177, 178.
- 111 IRT. 283.
- 112 IRT, 393, 400.
- 113 IRT. 646
- 114 IRT. 420.
- 115 IRT. 416
- 116 Philostratus, V. Soph. 2.20.2.
- 117 IRT., 614; cf. Procop. IV.4.; Dig. XV. 8,11.
- 118 Dio, LXXVI. 16.3.
- 119 Dio, LXXVI. 16.3; Cf. Birley A.R., op. cit., p.218.
- 120 Ward-Perkins, "Severan art and architecture at Leptis Magna"; JRS, XXXVIII, 1948, p.59; id. "The art of the Severan age in the light of Tripolitanian discoveries" Proceedings of the British Academy, XXXVI 1951, p.295; Picard, Ch. G. confirms the role of African artists (La Civilization de l'Afrique Romaine (1959), p.335ff.).
- 121 H.A., Vit. Sev. 18.3; Aurel. Vict. de Caes. XIX, 20.
- 122 Op. cit., p.110.
- 123 Merighi A., op. cit., Vol. 1, p.235; followed by Birley A.R., op. cit., p.219.
- 124 De Caes. 19.20.

- 125 IRT., 292.
- 126 C.I.L., VIII, 2465 = C.I.L., VIII, 17953.
- 127 C.I.L., VIII, 4322; C.I.L., VIII, 18527.
- 128 Herodian, VII.9.2.
- 129 Herodian, 7,9.2; Rachet M., Rome et les Berberes, op. cit., p.221; Romanelli P., Storia, 1959, p.408ff; Birley, op. cit., p.217, n.1; AE 1966, 597.
- 130 Haywood R.M., op. cit., p.184ff.; Romanelli P. Storia, 1959, p.435, n.3.
- 131 IRT., 907-9.
- 132 Duveryrier H., Exploration du Sahara: les Touareg du Nord-Paris, Challamel Aine, 1864, p.253.
- 133 Op. cit., 8, p.241.
- 134 Goodchild, R., Libyan Studies, p.21, n.19; Benabou, op. cit., p.185.
- 135 The date of this legislation is assigned to 212. But F. Millar ('The date of Constitutio Antoniniana' Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 48 1962 124) argues for 214, while W. Seston ('Marius Maximus et la date de la Constitutio Antonimana' Melanges d'archeologie et d'histoire offerts a Jerome Carcopino (1966), 877) argues for 213. But 212 is still convincing, cf. Birley A.R., op. cit., p.273, n.2.
- 136 Cf. Dio LXXVIII, 905; Frank T., op. cit., p.87.
- 137 Op. cit., ii, p.239.
- 138 Dio, LXXVIII, 3,2; Rostvtzeff M., op. cit., p.417.
- 139 Dio LXXVI. 15.2,; cf. H.A. Vit. Sev. XVIII, 5 Septimius Severus probably raised the legionary's wage to 500 denarii (one of three instalments which the soldier received each year) which was raised by Caracalla to 750 denarii (Brunt P. "Pay and superannuation in the Roman army" PBSR XVII [1950] pp.50-71.
- 140 Dio, LXXVIII, 901.
- 141 Dio, LXXIX,36,2; Dio, LXXVII, 1-9; F. Millar, A Study of Cassius Dio, 1964, pp.166ff.
- 142 Dio, loc. cit., App. 1 n.37; The Severan women, Julia Maesa and her daughters, played a great role in getting back the throne for their sons. Julia Maesa pretended that Elagabalus was illegitimate son of Caracalla from her daughter Julia Soaemias who played the same role in persuading her son to select Alexander Severus as his heir (Cf. Birley op. cit., pp.275-277).

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- 144 Mercier, op. cit., p.113.
- 145 Dio, 77.7.1-9.1, idem LXXVIII, 40; F. Millar, Cas. Dio, 1964, pp.151, 214ff.
- 146 H.A. Sev. Alexander, XXXI, 5; ibid., VIII, 4.; Cf. Birley, A.R., op. cit., pp.2777, 278.
- 147 Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, p.203.
- 148 C.I.L., VIII, 1, 2, 3, IRT. 907-9; H.A., Vit. Sev. Alexander, LVIII; cf. Goodchild R.G., Libyan Studies, p.42.
- 149 The word limitanei as suggested by Goodchild describes the natives who were settled as farmers in the frontier zone and called upon by the Romans to act as local militia. But it is contested by Prof. A.H.M. Jones (The later Roman Empire, Oxford, 1964, p.653) who preferred the word gentiles instead of it and at last Goodchild accepted his view. Prof.F.B. Millar said that though the word limitanei does appear in H.A. (Vit. Alexander Sev. LVIII) it is not used otherwise until the 360s and it is clear that the idea does not belong to this period. However, our interpretation of the Latino-punic inscriptions shows that the people settled in Goodchild fortified farm houses were Libyan tribesmen 'gentiles' (See Chap.VI, p.117).
- 150 Goodchild, ibid., p.41.
- 151 H.A., LVI, 2; LII, 2; XLVII, 1-2, Dio LXXVII; The disturbances started before this revolution when the praetorian guards rebelled and killed Prefect Ulpian who was faithful to the weak emperor who could not take any action against his killer (Modrzejewski, "La date de la mort d'Ulpian et la prefecture du pretoire au debut du regne d'Alexandre Severe", Revue Historique de droit Francaise et étranger, 1967, p.44ff.)
- 152 Cf. Joseph Vogt, The decline of Rome - The Metamorphosis of Ancient Civilization(trans. from German by Janet Goodheimer) Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1967, p.11; see Chap. IX (below).
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- 154 Bandinelli R.B., The Buried City, Excavations at Lepcis Magna, (trans. by D. Ridgway) Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1966, 20.

CHAPTER VI REFERENCES

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- 17 Idem., p.171.
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- 63 HA. Vit. Alex. 58-4; Van Berchem D., L'armée de Diocletian et la réforme Constantinienne, Paris, 1952, pp.42-49 suggested that the "limitanei" (in the sense of peasant militia) were established by Gordian III (ibid.).
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- 72 Idem. ; Append.2, LP.56 = 889
- 73 Idem. - Appendix 2, LP 59 = IRT 893
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- 76 IRT 894a
- 77 Millar, F., 1968, loc.cit.; see below chap.IX
- 78 Goodchild, R.G., Libyan studies, 1976, 112
- 79 Amm.Marc. XXVIII.6
- 80 Jones, A.H.M., The later Roman Empire (1964)649-54
- 81 Elmayer, A.F., LS 14(1983)88-89
- 82 cf. Rebuffat, R., 'Nouveau document sur le limes' in Town and country, a colloquium on honour of Olwen Brogan, 19-22 September, Cambridge, 1984 (forthcoming); IRT 880
- 83 Goodchild, R.G., Libyan studies, 1976, 42-43; Hayes, D.E.L., op.c -it.149
- 84 IRT 880 (gsr Duib); IRT 887(Bir Tarsin); gsr Zerzi (Brogan-Reyanolds, 'Inscriptions from Tripolitian hinterland' LA 1(1964), loc cit.
- 85 IRT 894a

- 86 Goodchild, R., Libyan studies, 1976, 30; followed by DI Vita A., op. cit., p.96; I.R.T. 875, 877, 889, for the interpretation of the Latin-Libyan inscriptions see Append.2, LP.27 = IRT 877; LP.56 = IRT 889; A.F. Elmayer, LS 14 (1983) 86-95.
- 87 E.G. Gsr Zerzi near Bu Ngem (47 km. to the south west of Bu Ngem).
- 88 E.G. Gsur Shemk in Wadi Soffeggin (I.R.T. 889), El-Banat in Wadi Nfed and Bir Dreder between Mizda and el-Hamada El-Hamra.
- 89 E.g. Gasr Duib Beside it lies in Saniet Duib, an important water point for the nomadic tribesmen who keep their herds in this desolate area of the upper Soffeggin (Cf. Goodchild, Libyan Studies, p.26). Also in Tunisia the Roamans built their military outposts near water sources (Pol Trouset, op. cit., p.28).
- 90 Di Vita A., op. cit., p.92.
- 91 Ibid., p.87 n.123; 90-92.
- 92 Smith D., loc. cit. (See No.69 above).
- 93 This inscription was discovered by prof. Rebuffat, (see above no.82)
 impp dd nn philippis augg
 m aurel cominio cassiano leg augg pr pr cv
 et lucretio marcello v e proc augg nn
 praeposito limitis tripolitanae
 c iulius donatus dec alae flaviae philippianae
 praefectus a dd nn augg
 praefuit vex (illationi) golensi et ---
 impp philippo iiii et philippo ii cos
- 94 Rebuffat. R., 'Un nouveau document sur le limes' art.cit.
 See above No.82.
- 95 Idem.
- 96 Goodchild, R.G., Libyan Studies, 1976, 28.
- 97 See above no.63
- 98 Elmayer, A.F., LS 14(1983) 86-95; Idem LS 15(1984) (93-105);
 Appendix 2, LP.37=IRT 886f.
- 99 IRT 880
- 100 L.Leschi, "Centenarium aqua viva appellatur" Comptes Rendus de L'Académie des inscriptions, 1941, pp.163-173, Goodchild R.G., 1976, p.24ff; D.J. Smith, Libya in History, 1968, p.300ff.
 A propraetorian legate, M. Aurelius Caminius Cassianus, is recorded in the Numidian limes in A.D. 246/47 (AE 1950, 128);
 Thomsen B., 1960, p.216.

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- 102 Di Vita, A., op. cit., pp.93-4, Contra Goodchild R.G., Libyan Studies, pp.38-41.
- 103 Ibid., 93 n.156.
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- 105 Ibid., p.70.
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- 107 El Mayer, A., LS 14 (1983), pp. 86-85; Idem. LS 15 (1984) 93-105
- 108 Epp.46-47; Goodchild, R.G., Libyan studies, 1976, 36-38.
- 109 Courtois, Ch., Les vandales et l'Afrique, Paris, 1955, p.77.
- 110 Op. cit., pp.92-93; for the Lepcitanian inscription of Flavius Neposianus, see Caputo G., "Flavius Neposianus, Comes et Praeses provinciae Tripolitaniae", in REA LIII, 1951, pp.234-247.
- 111 Di Vita, A., op. cit., p.95.
- 112 Van Berchem, op. cit., p.116.
- 113 Di Vita, A., op. cit., pp.94-95.
- 114 Nt. Dig. Occ.xxv, xxxI ; A.H.M. Jones, The later Roman Empire III (Appendix II, Notitia Dignitatum); O. Seeck (Editor), Not.Dig., pp.186-7.; cf. Cagnat, R., L'Armée romaine d'Afrique (1913) pp.700-774.
- 115 Goodchild, R.G., Libyan Studies, 1976, 28. On the date and purpose of the Notitia Dignitatum see J.C.Mann in Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum ed. R.Goodchild and P.Barthelomew (BAR Oxford 1976), 1-9.
- 116 Amm. Marc. XXXIV. V.21, 35; Cod. Th. XI. XXX. 62; Augustine, Epist. 199; Epist. 46; Not. Dig. Occ. XXXIV. 24.
- 117 The evidence of Gsr Duib (IRT.880; AE 1950, 128); Bir Dreder (Goodchild R.G., Libyan Studies, 1976, p.27, 37-38); in Cyrenaica there was the tribe of the Macae under their Praefect (SEG. IX.356, 11) Cf. C.I.L., VIII, 17317; 17393; 5217 (in Africa).
- 118 This is confirmed by inscriptions found in monumental tabellae ansatae on the doorways of the Gsur (IRT., 875, 889) Goodchild R.G., Libyan Studies, P.30; Barri Jones and Graeme Barker, op.cit., p.17, 23; IRT. p.217.
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- 120 Cod. Theod. IV, 15, 1; Mazzarino S., Aspetti Sociali del quattro Secolo, Roma, 1951, p.339.

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- 122 Cf. Mann J.C., "The frontiers of the principate" in Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, ii, 1 (1974) p.5; also the cases of wadi El-A mud and wadi umm el-Agerem are extremely significant. At wadi umm el-gerem the same Libyan family appeared to be the owners of the land for at least from the end of the II century until the middle of the III century A.D. IRT. p.204, Libya Antiqua, 1, (1964) p.83, n.96; Brogan O., in Libya in History, 1968, (ed.1971) pp.121-128.
- 123 Di Giovanni, op. cit., ii, p.64.
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- 126 Dio. (75.2.3.) criticised Septimius Severus for burdening the state with huge military financial expenditure (ibid.).
- 127 G. Forni, Il Reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano (1953), p.128.
- 128 Brogan O. and Reynolds J.M., "Seven inscriptions from Tripolitania" PBSR, XXVIII, p.52 n.2. The absence of a Roman praenomen and nomen is considered as a decline of standards of Legionaries (ibid.). For the diffusion of Libyan name (Migin) in Northern Africa which indicates the recruitment of the natives, Cf. Salama P., in Libya 1, 1953, p.248ff.; No.117.
- 129 Rebuffat R., "Bu Ngem" LA, vi-vii (1969-1970) pp.9-107).
- 130 C.I.L., VIII, 18068.
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 Campbell, B., JRS, 68 (1978), p.156.
- 133 Dio, 60.24.3.
- 134 Campbell, B., op.cit. 68 (1978), p.155.
- 135 Herodian; 3.8.4-5.
- 136 Brunt, P., "Conscription and volunteering in the Roman imperial army" Scripta Classica Israelica, 1, (1974), p.110.
- 137 Di Giovanni M., op.cit., ii, p.64.
- 138 Rebuffat, R., 'Bu Njem (1963) LA 6-7 (1969-1970) 9-86.
- 139 Brogan O., Reynolds J., "Seven inscriptions from Tripolitania" in PBSR, XXVIII (new series XV), p.52 no.3; the text demonstrates the existence and a little of the character (a mixture of Roman and native forms) of the Civil settlement that grew up beside the military station, (ibid.).

- 140 The stations on this road, from west to east, are: Pisida (Buchemash)- Gypsaria (Marset Tibuda) - Casas (Zuara) - Ad Ammonem (Mellita) - Sabratha - Oea (Tripoli).
- 141 I.R.T., 926 (at 5 miles of the Oea coast).
- 142 Goodchild, "The Roman roads and milestones of Tripolitania" Department of Antiquities, British Military Administration Tripoli, 1947, p.9.
- 143 Ant. Itin., 73.4.
- 144 Coro F. in, Riv. delle col. Ital., 1931, Vol.1; Tissot (Geogr. Comp. de L'Afrique du Nord, 1, p.209) who reached the same conclusion.
- 145 Goodchild, R.G., The Roman Roads, op. cit., p.11.
- 146 Ibid. p.14. The coincidence of this road with that cut by Aelius Lamia is confirmed by milestones discovered along it. The eastern Gebel road was economically important as well as militarily. Romanelli arguing from the milestone of Aelius Lamia at Lepcis, states that the eastern Gebel road was under Tiberius, a defended frontier running into the heart of the enemy territory. (See Epigraphica, I, 1939).
- 147 Ibid.
- 148 I.R.T., 964-965-966.
- 149 Goodchild, op. cit., p.21.
- 150 Ibid., p.26.
- 151 I.R.T., 887 (at the time of Septimⁱus Severus).
- 152 Goodchild, R.G., The Roman roads, op. cit., p.27.
- 153 Ant. It., 73.4.
- 154 C.I.L., VIII, 22763.
- 155 Ant. It. 74-77.
- 156 Not. Dig. Occ., XXXI
- 157 Aurigemma S., "Le pietre milita^re Tripolitane" in Riv. Della Tripoli. II, (1925).
- 158 C.I.L., VIII, 10016 (from the time of Nerva).
- 159 C.I.L., VIII, 10017 (from the time of Aurelianus)
- 160 Di Giovanni M., op. cit., ii, p.80; Aurigemma S., Art. Cit.
- 161 Toutain J., 'Note sur quelques voies romaines de l'Afrique préconsulaire (Tunisie Méridionale et Tripolitaine)' in Mélang d'arch. et di hist. de L'école Franc. T.15, 1895, pp.201-9; Troussset, Pol., op. cit., 1974, p.30.

- 162 C.I.L., VIII, 11048 (Tisavar = Gasr Ghelan); Cagnat- Merlin, 26 (Vezereos = Sidi Mohamed ben issa).
- 163 Romanelli, Storia, 1959, pp.399-402.
- 164 I.R.T., 868 (Thenadassa), Brogan-Reynolds, PBSR, XIX, pp.48-51; JRS, XXXIX, p.88.
- 165 Merlin, in Compt., Rend. l'Acad. des inscript. (1909) 98.
- 166 Op. cit., p.89. It deals with the application of the same strategic principles which shaped the work of Septimius Severus on the limites of Numidia and Mauretania which often brought about the surrounding of an area well delimited for defence (ibid., n.134); Cf. Salama P., "Nouveaux témoignages de l'oeuvre des Sévères dans la Mauretaine Césarienne" in Libya, III, 1955, p.329; 335-363.
- 167 Goodchild, R.G., 1976, pp.76-79.
- 168 Ibid., 79.
- 169 Aurigemma S., art. cit., pp.135-137.
- 170 Goodchild, R.G., op. cit., p.21.
- 171 I.R.T., 868.
- 172 Op.cit., II, p.9.
- 173 Troussset, Pol., op.cit., pp.98-102.
- 174 C.I.L., VIII, 2275 = I.L.T., 3.
- 175 De Mathuisieux, 'Rapport de Mission', in Nov. Arch. des Miss., XII, (1904), p.48; followed by Merighi, op. cit., ii, p.10.
- 176 I.R.T., 856-58.
- 177 Brogan O., Reynolds J.M., in PBSR, XXVIII, (1966), iii, p.51 n.5.
- 178 I.R.T., 868.
- 179 Cagnat R., L'armée Romaine d'Afrique, p.531.
- 180 I.R.T., 800
- 181 Goodchild, R.G., op. cit., p.28.
- 182 Troussset, P., op. cit., 1974, p.144; Merighi A., (op. cit., ii, p.11) identified Thamascaltin with Gsur el-Barber at south Cabao but this is not supported by evidence.

- 183 For these gsur reference has been already made. For the description of some of them see, Goodchild, R.G., Libyan Studies, 1976; D. Smith, "The Centenaria of Tripolitania and their antecedents" in Libya in History (1968), p.309; Pol Trouset, op. cit.
- 184 Pol Trouset, op. cit., p.30.
- 185 C.I.L., VIII, 22759, 11048.
- 186 AE 1922.54, ILAF 26.
- 187 C.I.L., VIII, 22763.
- 188 Three of these villages have been surveyed by Goodchild, Libyan Studies, 1976, p.21 (Ain Wif); p.76 (Medina Doga); (Gasr ed-Daun).
- 189 Idem., p.20.
- 190 Di Vita A., op. cit., p.80.
- 191 Pol. Trouset, op. cit., p.30.
- 192 C.I.L., VIII, 16; 253, 2501; C.I.L., X, 6569, Cf. Dio LIX, 20; Marquardt J., L'organisation de l'empire Romain, p.457; Goodchild, Libyan Studies, p.20.
- 193 Haywood, t.cit., p.177.
- 194 Mann, J.C., art. cit., p.527.
- 195 AE 1950, 58.
- 196 Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949.
- 197 Van Berchem, L'armée de Diocletien et la réforme Constantinienne, Paris, 1952, pp.42-49.
- 198 Ibid.
- 199 I.R.T., 868 (Ain Wif = Thenadassa); C.I.L., VIII, 6 (Gholaia); C.I.L., VIII, 2 (el-Gheria el Gharbia); I.R.T., 907-9 (Cydamae).
- 200 Trouset, Pol., op. cit., p.37.
- 201 C.I.L., VIII, 10230.
- 202 Thomasson (B.), Die Statthalter der römischen provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus, Lund, (1960), p.255.
- 203 Op. cit., pp.137-139.

- 204 Sherwin-White A.N., JRS., 63, 1973, pp.88-89. The agreement is attested from A.D.140-280 (AE 1931. 65, 1921. 23).
- 205 Man J.C., op. cit., p.529.
- 206 Ibid., p.528, Salama P., "Nouveaux temoignages de l'oeuvre des Severes dans la Mauretanie Cesarienne", Libyca (Archeologie, Epigraphie) 1, 1953, 231-261, and 2, 1955, 329-367.
- 207 Picard G. Ch., Castellum Dimmidi, 1949.
- 208 Fentress E.W.B., op. cit., p.116.
- 209 Ibid., p.117.
- 210 Art. cit., p.527.
- 211 D.J. Mattingly, LS, 13 (1982) pp.73-78.
- 212 Cf. Pliny, loc. cit., Tacitus, loc. cit.; Ch.iii (above).
- 213 Goodchild, R.G., Libyan Studies, p.14ff.
- 214 IRT. 914-16 (Gholaie); IRT. 895; 896 (El-Gharia El-Gharbia); IRT. 907-9 (Cydamae).
- 215 I.R.T., 868 (Bir Tarsin); Reynolds-Brogan O., loc. cit., (Gsr zirzi).
- 216 I.R.T., 868 (Thenadassa); Brogan-Reynolds, loc. cit., (Auru).
- 217 Di Vita A., op. cit., p.97.
- 218 Ibid.
- 219 I.R.T., 896 (el- Gharbia el-Gharbia); Caputo G., art. cit., p.90; Di Vita A., op. cit., p.84 n.138; p.95 n.170.
- 220 Rebuffat R., "Bu Njem 1968", Libya Antiqua, (1969-1970), pp.9-107.
- 221 Ibid.
- 222 Bartoccini R., Afr. Ital., (1928), p.50.
- 223 Brogan O., and Reynolds J.M., "Seven inscriptions from Tripolitania" PBRs, xxvIII, (1960), p.52.
- 224 See above no.108.
- 225 IRT 480, Reynolds, J.M., LS 8(1976-1977) 13, Brogan, O., LA 13-14 (1976-77) 127-28).

CHAPTER VII

- 1 Mattingly H., Roman imperial civilization, 1967, p.120.
- 2 Fuller, Julius Caesar, op.cit., p.325.
- 3 Dio, LIII, 3.
- 4 Res Gestae Divi Augusti, 6.
- 5 Fuller, loc. cit.
- 6 Res Gestae, 34
- 7 It comprised, Spain, Gaul, Syria, Cilicia and Cyprus-
(A.M. Jones, A History of Rome through the Fifth Century, Vol.II: The Empire, London 1970, pp.25-33).
- 8 Dio, LI, 15; LIII, 26; LIII, 12, 4; Halgan C., Administration des provinces sénatoriales sous l'empire Romaine, [1898] p.295, Julien Ch., op.cit., 198.
- 9 Strabo, XVII, 3, 7; Dio, LIII, 26; XLVIII, 45; XLIX, 43, Broughton, Romanisation, op. cit., p.72.
- 10 Julien, loc. cit.
- 11 Dio, LIX, 20; Tac. Hist., IV 48; Cagnat, L'armée Romaine, p.28; This is explicit from the inscription of Ras elhadagia (Tripoli), Goodchild, Libyan Studies, 1976, pp.93-94.
- 12 Op. cit., p.231.
- 13 L'armée Romaine, p.21; The amount of grain which Africa exported to Rome every year, was estimated at forty million bushels. (Josephus, Bell. Judaicum, V, 11. 16. 4)
- 14 Julien, Ch. A., op. cit., p.199.
- 15 Albertini, E., L'afrique romaine, 1949, p.31ff.; cf. Safir, A., The Civilization of the Magrib, p.314-315; for the two types of treasures. See Mattingly H., Roman imperial civilization, 1967, p.184.
- 16 F.Millar, 'The Emperor, the Senate and the Provinces', JRS LVI 1966, 156.
- 17 Ibid., 165.
- 18 Ibid., 166.
- 19 Tac. Hist., IV, 48. This action had taken place by the Emperor Gaius Caligula in the year 37 A.D. The Proconsul of Macedonia also had legions under his command until soon after 10 B.C.,

when they were transferred to the legatus of Moesia.

- 20 Merighi, op. cit., I, p.141.
- 21 Dio, LII, 43; Strabo, XVII, 3, 15; App., lib., 136.
- 22 PIR², p.379, n.440.
- 23 C.I.L., IX, 1592; X, 5178.
- 24 C.I.L., CIII, 4510; 45111.
- 25 Pliny, epist., IX, 33; Marquardt, J., Organization de l'Empire Romaine; Trans. A. Weiss, Paris, 1889-1912, p.453.
- 26 C.I.L., VIII, 7039.
- 27 C.I.L., VII, 7059, 7061.
- 28 Polyb., III, 23; Livy, XXXIV, 62; De Sanctis, Storia dei Romani, III, 2, 579; Gsell, Hist. Anc., II, 127-8.
- 29 Tac. Hist., IV, 48; Dio, LIX, 20, 7.
- 30 C.I.L., VIII, p.15; IRT., 541, 854, 880, 908, 914-916.
- 31 Dio, LIII, 14, 7; cf. Romanelli, Lepcis Magna, p.24 n.2.
- 32 Romanelli, P. Ibid.
- 33 Julien Ch., p.198.
- 34 Mercier E., L'Afrique Septentrionale, Paris, p.95 Claudius reorganized the Roman provinces of North Africa, and he left the old ones to the Senate, and the division was as follows:
 - 1 - Crete - Cyrene, governed by Proconsul.
 - 2 - Africa - Proconsularis.
 - 3 - Numidia governed by an imperial legate.
 - 4 - Mauretania was divided into two provinces called Caesariensis and Tangit (Mercier, ibid.).
- 35 The inscription (in Bull. Arch. du Comité, 1908, 199 ff.) mentioned a district of Lepcis, and Romanelli believes that it is Lepcis Minor, See Lepcis Magna, op. cit., p.24 n.2.
- 36 C.I.L., VIII, 24.
- 37 Desjardins, 'Remarques géographiques à propos de la Carrière d'un legat de Pannonie inferieure, in Rev. Arch., 1873, XXXVI, 71, in contradiction to Romanelli, loc. cit.

- 38 C.I.L., VIII, 6, 1099 = IRT. 914, 915, 916., Cf. Pellu de Lessert, Fastes des prov. afric., 1, p.186ff.; Bartoccini R, in Afr. Ital. 1928, 11, p.50.
- 39 Cf. Desjardins, art. lit., p.79.
- 40 During this period there was a distinction between the coastal zone which was under the governor's authority and the interior which was under the legatus of Numidia. Cf. C.I.L., VIII, 15.
- 41 I.R.T., p.8; Mercier E., (op. cit., 118) believes that Diocletian reorganized the African provinces after Maximianus had subdued the federation of the five tribes in the year 297 A.D.
- 42 Cf. Desjardins, art. cit., p.73.
- 43 Cf. Digest L, 15, 8, 11; Aur. Vict., 40; Procop. Aedif., VI, 4.
- 44 J.S.Reid, The Municipalities of ^{the} Roman Empire, Cambridge, [1913] p.256.
- 45 Solinus, 27, 8; HA. 18. 3; C.I.L., VIII, 16542, 16543-11105; Eutrop. VIII, 18; Romanelli, (p). 'L'origine del nome Tripolitania', in Rend. della pont. accad. Rom. di Arch. Vol. IX, 1933, p.12.
- 46 C.I.L., VIII, 16542; H.G. Pflaum, Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Equestres Sous le haut-Empire Romain, Paris, 1960 II, p.782, n.302, 1; Gsell, ILALg., 3063.
- 47 C.I.L., VIII, 16543; Pflaum H., op. cit., p.782, no.302, 2; Gsell, ILALg., 3062; IRT. p.10.
- 48 Pflaum, H.G., op. cit., p.783; C.I.L. III, 1456; Pflaum N. 328.
- 49 Saumagne Ch., 'Circonscriptions etc.', RT, 1940, p.241.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid., p.241.
- 52 Op. cit., p.785.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 In a note in, C.I.L., VIII, 16542; Pflaum H., op. cit. 785.
- 55 ILALg., i, ad 3062-3063.
- 56 L. Poinssset, BCTH, 1938, p.60.
- 57 Loc. cit.

- 58 C.I.L., VIII, 11105.
- 59 C.I.L., XIV, 3593; PiR²C 930; G. Barbieri, L'Albo Senatorio da Settimio Severo A Carino, Rome, 1952, n.1007.
- 60 Barbieri G., ibid., n.1006.
- 61 PiR²C 930; Barbieri G., L'Albo, 1952, n.1007.
- 62 Under Carthage and ^{the} Numidian Kingdom (Sall. Bell. Jug. 78), Lepcis Magna enjoyed considerable degree of local autonomy, but for its institutions prior to Augustus. the evidence is the independent coinage (Müller, Numism. II p.3ff.; Suppl. 33ff. - IRT. p.79); first issued after Lepcis became a civitas foederata of Rome during the Jugurthine War.
- 63 IRT., 563, 565.
- 64 1, 2, 90.
- 65 Organisation de l'empire romain, (trad. per A. Weiss et P.L. Lucas, 1913) II, p.461.
- 66 Lepcis Magna, p.28.
- 67 (IRT., 464, 465, 468, 471, 472); IRT., p.8.
- 68 Grant, 339, 340, 341, IRT. p.24, 65, 79.
- 69 Gsell, S., Anc. Hist. 1, p.359ff; Halgan C., op. cit., p.48, 56; Romanelli, Lepcis, p.9, Cf. Sall. Jug. 77: Pliny N.H., V, XIX, 76
- 70 C.I.L., VIII, 7; Sall. Jug. 77; Neo-Punic. N.6.
- 71 Müller, op. cit., ii, p.3ff.; Suppl.33ff; Cagnat R., "Remarques sur les num. usitées dans l'Afrique Romaine à l'époque du haut-empire", Klio [1909], p.194; Romanelli P., Lepcis Magna, p.17; Aurigemma S., Not. Arch. ii [1916] p.223; Grant M., Imperium to Auctoritas, p.340. There are three categories of cities; civitas foederata (allied cities); these were usually exempt from tax and their constitution not be tampered with; less privileged than these were, civitas libera 'free cities' most of which did have to pay tax. The majority of the provincial cities came into the third category of civitas stipendiariae (tributary cities), which enjoyed neither exemption nor guarantee. (J. Richardson, Roman provincial administration [1976], p.49-51); Cf. Arnold, W., The Roman system of provincial administration [1914], p.235.
- 72 Müller, Nummis., II, p.3ff. and Suppl. 33ff.

- 73 Tac. Hist., IV, 50 "Mox Oeensium Lepcitanorumque discordias composuit, quae raptu frugum et pecorum inter agrestes modicis principiis, iam per arma atque acies exercebantur, nam populus Oeensis multitudine inferior Garamantes exciverat, gentem indomitam et inter accolae latrociniis fecundam. unde artae Lepcitanis res, lateque vastatis agris intra moenia trepidabant, donec interventu cohortium alarumque fusi Garamantes et recepta omnis praeda, nisi quam vagi per inaccessa mapalium ulterioribus viderant (ibid.). Cf. Pliny., Nat. hist., V, 5, 38, Cagnat, R., L'armée Romaine, II, p.37, Romanelli, Storia, pp.288-290.

- 74 Tacitus, loc. cit. He has just mentioned that [Valerius Festius] "discordias composuit"; Broughton, op. cit., p.132.

- 75 Aurigemma, in Notiziario arch., (1916), II, p.223.

- 76 See Histoire Chronologique du Royaume de Tripoly de Barbarie, MSS. della Biblioteque nationale di Paris, fonds francais, nn.12219-1220 (Invantore, n.199; Suppl. fr. 4969); p.28 the inscription:

PAC. COMP.
PRUD. VAL. FESTUS. COHORT. PRO. AFR. DUX
CIVITAS. OEA
CUM. URBE. LEPTIS. FOEDER
PRO. BENEF. P...
... .DEDICA

The author of this "Histoire Chronologique" is an anonymous Frenchman who had lived for eight years as a slave in Tripoli, (1668-1676). Aurigemma, S., "Aspetti Della Vita Publica e Privata Nei Municipi Della Tripoliana Romana", Art. Cit., p.4.

- 77 It is known that Lepcis Magna continued to pay this tribute till the time of Septimius Severus who bestowed on the three towns the 'ius italicum' which relieved them of the oil tribute, and Aurelius Victor (Caes., 40) mentioned that Lepcis spontaneously continued to pay it as a veneration to the emperor who agreed for a fixed amount as a gift to the Roman people (H.A. Severus, XVIII, 3).
- 78 Müller, Num., 11, 3.ff., 10; Suppl. p.33ff.
- 79 Market (8 B.C.): IRT. 319, Theatre (1/2 A.D.); IRT., 322 Second market (1 1/2 A.D.), given by Iddibal Caphada Aemilius: IRT. 324. All these texts are bilingual.
- 80 Tiberius Claudius Sestius, citizen of Leptis, builds an altar and a podium in the theatre; for services rendered by him and his family he is awarded the right to wear a purple stripe on his Toga in the year 91. R.B. Bandinelli, The buried city: excavations at Lepcis Magna (Trans. by D. Ridgway). p.58.
- 81 IRT. 347, 318; AE 1957, 238. Bénabou M., op.cit., p.517.
- 82 IRT. 300

- 83 IRT. 347.
- 84 Cf. Sall. Bell Jug., 77, 78; C.I.L., VIII, 7 = IRT. 349a Romanelli, Lepcis Magna, p.17; Di Giovanni, ii; p.48. As a matter of fact the title and function of sufete are in evidence after these dates, IRT., 599.
- 85 Romanelli, Epigraphica, loc. cit.
- 86 IRT., 412 "...sufeti praef(ecto) publ(ice) creato cum primum civitas Romana adacta est, durviro...); Bénabou, op.cit., p.525 n.133.
- 87 Bénabou, p.525 n.133; praefecti might be appointed to the place of duoviri in their absence, or to represent the emperor if he were elected honorary duovir (C.H. Stevenson, Roman administration (1939), p.172 n.1.).
- 88 Bénabou, op. cit., p.525.
- 89 Wright, J., op. cit., p.57, 58; Romanelli, Lepcis, 21. ' The Severan great building programme at Lepcis, included the Severan forum, Basilica, the colonnaded street, and the new harbour'. (Chap. V).
- 90 Broughton, T.R.S., op. cit., 132.
- 91 Silvae, IV, 5; Septimius Severus, who later became a Roman Knight came to Italy when he was young and finished his education there and he lived in Rome and that helped him to become a completely Italian as the poet Statius praised him. (Romanelli, Lepcis, p.21).
- 92 Spart. Vita Severi, 15, 19; Romanelli, Lepcis Magna, p.21, n.2; Broughton, loc. cit.
- 93 Millar F., "Local cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic and Latin in Roman Africa" in JRS, LVIII [1968], p.132; See Append. 2 (below).
- 94 Müller, Nummis, loc. cit.
- 95 It has been mentioned that apart from the three dioceses admitted by all, it is probable that there was a fourth, with Lepcis as capital, and Romanelli stated that one of the three legates of proconsul of Africa, could be the one of Tripolitania (cf. C.I.L., VIII, 16; Romanelli, Lepcis Magna, 24 n.4).
- 96 IRT., 271.
- 97 Bénabou, op. cit., 518:
- 98 Storia, 195, p.244.
- 99 Ibid., p.243-244.

- 100 Tac. Hist. IV, 28; C.I.L.VIII, 2536; 2501; Cagnat R., L'armée romaine, p.25.
- 101 Pliny, N.H., V, 2, 19-20; Gascou J., La politique municipale de l'Empire Romain, [1972], p.27, with many references to these creations; L. Teutsch, p.207.
- 102 A. Degrassi, Epigraphica, VII, p.3-21, Gascou, loc. cit.
- 103 J. Guey, Mémoires de la société nationale de France, (MSAF) LVXXXII, (1951), pp.161-226; As Flavia Domitilla was born in Sabratha (Suet., Vesp., 3) and she was the wife of Vespasian and the mother of Titus and Domitian; that perhaps was not strange to the privileged circle, as it was in the later period.
- 104 Romanelli, Storia, pp.276-277.
- 105 Tacitus, Hist. 1, 78.
- 106 Romanelli, Storia, p.283.
- 107 Tac. Hist., IV, 50; Cf. Pliny, N.H., V, 5, 38; Romanelli, Storia, 288-290.
- 108 Romanelli, ibid., 301-305.
- 109 Gascou J., op. cit., p.28.
- 110 Idem.
- 111 Broughton, op. cit., p.134.
- 112 Bénabou, op. cit., p.518.
- 113 Ibid.
- 114 C.I.L., VIII, 10 = IRT. 353; IRT., 412; Tab. peut.
- 115 IRT., 284.
- 116 IRT., 353; Africa Italiana, VI, 1940, p.98-99; Gascou, op. cit., 75.
- 117 C.I.L., XV, 2233, 3382-3387; Romanelli, Lepcis, p.26. n.1.
- 118 IRT. 412; H.A., Vit. Sev. 1, 2.
- 119 IRT., 342.
- 120 IRT., 346.
- 121 Ibid. 347, 348, 349.
- 122 Ibid. 412.
- 123 Ibid. 599.

- 124 Romanelli, in De Ruggiero, Dizionario Epigraphico, IV, 1953, Col.662.
- 125 Ibid., IRT, 341, 305.
- 126 A. Degrassi, 'L'ordinamento di Lepcis Magna nel primo secolo dell' impero e la sua costituzione a municipio Romano, in Epigraphica, VII, pp.3-21; J. Guey, 'L'inscription du grand-père de Septime-Sévère à Leptis Magna, in M.S.A.F., Vol.82, [1951], pp.161-226.
- 127 L. Teutsch, in Rev. Int. Ant., VIII, 1961, pp.256-281.
- 128 Aurigemma S., "L'Avo paterno, una zia ed altri congiunti dell' imperatore Severo", Quaderni di archeologia della Libya, 1950, p.59.
- 129 Gascou, op. cit., p.77, followed by Benabou, op. cit., p.518.
- 130 Idem.
- 131 Idem.
- 132 IRT, 412.
- 133 Aulus Gellius, XVI, 13.
- 134 Cf. Benabou, loc. cit.
- 135 Sall. Bel. Iug., 77, 78, Reid J., op. cit., p.292.
- 136 IRT., 599.
- 137 IRT., 99.
- 138 IRT., P.80; Reynolds believes that, in addition to their financial duties, they were priests (Reynolds, "Some inscriptions from Lepcis Magna" in P.B.S.R., XIX, [1951], p.118.)
- 139 Polyb. 82.6.
- 140 Romanelli P., Lepcis Magna, p.9.
- 141 These are translation of Punic titles, see: Levi della Vida, Afr. Ital. VI (1935), p.105; Rend.Acc.linc. 8 IV, (1949), p.405; IRT, p.80 = Neo-Punic 32.
- 142 IRT., p.80
- 143 Aulus Gellius, loc. cit.
- 144 Lepcis Magna, p.24 n.2; followed by Di Giovanni, op. cit., Vol.1, p.28.
- 145 IRT., 599.

- 146 IRT, 357.
- 147 Idem., 599.
- 148 IRT, 599, and the second century (IRT, 498), and provided equipment for the market (498, 590).
- 149 IRT, 396.
- 150 C.I.L., VIII, 14 = 10 994, = 22673 = IRT, 595.
- 151 Regarding the Roman Municipal Constitution see Richardson, J., (1914) op. cit., pp.51-52; Mattingly H., Roman imperial civilization (1967) 84; Di Giovanni, op. cit., II p.48, 49 "La Magistratura romana era, come si sa, costituita, secondo la legge municipale, di un collegio di quadrumviri (duoviri iure dicundo e duoviri aediles) assistiti dal solito ordo decuriorum Senato Municipale". (Ibid.)
- 152 The Duoviri were mentioned alongside the aediles in one of the inscriptions of the fourth century A.D. and in Ammianus' narration (Amm. Marc., Hist., XXVIII, 6).
- 153 In the inscriptions found around the seats in Hadrianic baths a sufete is recorded near an aedile (IRT, 599).
- 154 Idem.
- 155 Aurigemma S., 'Le Iscrizioni di Lepcis Magna', in Africa Italiana, III, 1930, p.89, IRT., p.9, IRT 572.
- 156 Di Giovanni, ii, p.49.
- 157 Cf. Mattingly H., op. cit., p.70.
- 158 H.A. Vit. Sev., 14.
- 159 Di Giovanni, ii, p.49.
- 160 ILS 8918 = IRT. 432, 315a. This office is known from a monument that was dedicated to Fulvia Pautilla in A.D. 201 by its curator and familia. (Reynolds, PBSR XIX, p.120).
- 161 C.I.L., VIII, 2260 = IRT. 432.
- 162 De Laet S.J., Portorium, Brugge [1949], p.247ff and 363ff.; C.I.L., VIII, 12039 (Concilium).
- 163 Amm.Marc. XXXXVIII,6,7.
- 164 IRT., p.9; IRT. 302 (V. Martim; IRT., 315a (V. Terrestris) Reynolds J., PBSR, XIX, [1951] pp.120-21.
- 165 C.I.L., VII, 22765; PIR¹ C930; G. Barbieri, op. cit., n.1007.

- 166 C.I.L., VIII, 16543; Pflaum, H.G., op. cit., N.302.
- 167 C.I.L., VIII, 11105.
- 168 Di Giovanni, op. cit., Vol.2, p.50.
- 169 Müller, loc. cit., i; IRT, p.79.
- 170 Aurigemma, S., in Afric. Italiana, III, 1930, p.89;
For the Quirina, IRT, 347, 350, 352, 376, 633, 670,
728. For the Papiria, IRT, 593, 598, 602, 629, 630.
- 171 Gascou, op. cit., p.75.
- 172 IRT, 572; AE. 1931, 2; Aurigemma S., loc. cit.
- 173 Di Giovanni, op. cit., 11, p.48.
- 174 IRT, pp.80-81.
- 175 Ibid., p.81, n.b.
- 176 Barton, op. cit., p.54.
- 177 IRT, p.81, n.b.
- 178 Sherwin-White, The Roman Citizenship, (1939-1973), p.276.
- 179 E.g. Broughton, Romanisation, 132.
- 180 Op. cit., p.82-3; For Papiria tribe, IRT, 117-125, 128, 130;
For Quirina, IRT, 95, 96, 112.
- 181 IRT. 121, 391, 411, 413, 416, 417, 421, 436, 541. The other
recorded curial names at Sabratha are derived from the names
of divinities.
- 182 IRT. 18, 19, 20.
- 183 IRT, 21, 22, 23.
- 184 IRT, 23.
- 185 IRT, 6.
- 186 61, 3.
- 187 IRT, 43, 55, 96, 101, 102, 103, 104, 111.
- 188 IRT, 101, 103, 104, 111.
- 189 IRT, 95, 128, IRT, p.24.
- 190 Ibid., 43, 116.
- 191 IRT, 55, 104 (Flamines perpetui); IRT, 117, 126 (Flamines
Libri Patris).

- 192 IRT, 104.
- 193 IRT, 232, Reynolds mentions that the quaestor at Oea mentioned by Apuleius (Apol. 101) is not necessarily evidence that there was an Italian-type constitution there at this time; AE 1916 no.42, from Volubilis, seems to show that junior officials in Punic cities were sometimes known by a Latin title appropriate to their functions, rather than by a transliteration of their Punic titles. (PBSR, XIX, 1951, p.119 no.20).
- 194 IRT., 230. It is also mentioned in Peut. tab.; Itin. Ant.
- 195 IRT, 230.
- 196 IRT, 232.
- 197 IRT, 542.
- 198 IRT, 232, 233, 237.
- 199 IRT, 347.
- 200 Hirschfeld, Zur Gesch. d. Röm. Kaisercult, p.481.
- 201 Cultes Paiens, 1, p.80; Broughton, p.118, no.157.
- 202 Abbot and Johnson, op. cit., p.64.
- 203 Above, n.111.
- 204 Broughton, op. cit. pp.148-149.
- 205 C.I.L., VIII, 22737; cf. Broughton, op. cit., p.149, nn.171.
- 206 C.I.L., VIII, 22707.
- 207 Broughton, pp.150-151.
- 208 Ibid., p.150, n.176.
- 209 Ibid., pp.155-156.
- 210 Broughton, op. cit., pp.132-133, 136-139, 145-149, 152-154.
- 211 Gascou, op. cit., p.226.
- 212 Procop., De aedif., VI, 4.
- 213 Parker H.M.D., A History of the Roman World, [1958], p.72.
- 214 Digest L., 15, 8, II. "In Africa Carthago, Utica, Lepcis Magna a divo Severo et Antonino iuris italici factae sunt" (ibid.). Cf. Aurel, Vict. 40, HA. 18.3. For the origins of the ius Italicum see Sherwin-White, op. cit., p.318.
- 215 Sherwin-White, op. cit., p.276.

- 216 IRT. 393; 423 (Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla); similar to Geta (209 A.D.) IRT. 44.
- 217 Bartoccini R., 'Le terme di Lepcia Magna', in Rivista Tripolitana, [1924] p.82ff.
- 218 Dig., L., 15, 8, 11.
- 219 Sherwin-White, op. cit., p.277; Cf. Tac. Hist., IV, 50.
- 220 Cf. Di Giovanni M., op. cit., Vol.ii, p.50; A Birley, op.cit., p.208.
- 221 C.I.L., VIII, 27 (No.383/8).
- 222 Amm. Marc., XXVIII, 6, 7; Guiraud, Les assemblées provinciales dans l'empire Romain, 1887, p.294 n.2.
- 223 Idem.
- 224 H.M.D. Parker, op. cit., p.72.
- 225 C.I.L., III, 16, Haywood, op. cit., p.177.
- 226 Aurel. Vict. Caes., 20.19; HA., Vit. Sev., 18.3.
- 227 For tribal resistance see Ch.III (above).
- 228 Cf. IRT. 854; AE., 1940, 70; Ch.IV (above).
- 229 IRT. p.201.
- 230 Cf. Broughton, op. cit., p.96.
- 231 Gsell S., 'La Tripolitaine et le Sahara au troisième siècle' MAI 43 (1926) p142-166.
- 232 Tac. Ann., IV, 26; Ptolemy, 1, 8, 5; 1, 10, 2; also Tacitus (IV, 23) mentioned that Garamantes used to fight their enemies under the leadership of their brave kings; Procop. Aedif., IV, 3; cf. Broughton, op. cit., p.94, n.37.
- 233 Procop. Bellum Vand. V, 7.
- 234 S. Augustine (Ep. 192-12-46) says the Praefectus was appointed by Roman government and invested with civilian and military authority.
"Ita ut non habeant reges suos sed super eos praefecti a Romano constituentur Impero" (ibid.); cf. Di Giovanni, op. cit., ii, p.54.
- 235 Cagnat, R., L'armée Romaine d'Afrique, p.331; cf. IRT 880.
- 236 Notitia Dignitatum (Occ. 31).
- 237 Romanelli, P., 1943, 187; Cf. Broughton, 1929, 93.
- 233 Elmayer, A.F., 1984, 93-105; Cf. Appendix 2, LP 32, 37 = IRT 886 a, b.

CHAPTER VIII

- 1 Herodotus, IV, 186
- 2 Bates, O., op. cit., p. 92
- 3 Herodotus, IV, 172, 182
- 4 Ps-Scyclax, 109 (GGMI, pp.84-5).
- 5 Lucian, De dipsadibus 2.
- 6 Pliny, N. H. IV. 5
- 7 Herodotus, IV, 174
- 8 Mela, 1, 8
- 9 Herodotus, IV, 198
- 10 Mela I. 7; Amm. XXVIII 6, 4 cf. Martial, XCV. VII. CXL. XIV, XII. XIII; Vergil, Geog. III. 312
- 11 El-Bakri, Description de l'afrique septentrionale (Trad. De Slaine, Paris, (1913), p. 25
- 12 Ps-Scyclax, 109.
- 13 Daniels Ch. M., 'The Garamantes of Fezzan: an interim report of Research, 1965-73', Libyan society 4th annual report (1972-73), p. 41
- 14 Daniels Ch. M., The Garamantes of southern Libya, Michigan 1970, p. 23
- 15 Walsh R., 'Massinissa' in JRS, LV, 1965, p. 154
- 16 Bell. Afr. 97.3
- 17 Rostovtzeff, M, SEHRE, 10
- 18 Oates (D), 'The Tripolitanian settlement ... etc' in PBSR, XXI, p. 110
- 19 Livy, XXIV, 62, 2
- 20 Polybius, XXXI, 21; Discussion ⁱⁿ Gsell, S, Anc. Hist. III. p. 316
- 21 Gsell, S, 'L'huile de Leptis', in Rivista della Tripolitania, i 1924-25, p. 41; Panella C., 'Le anfore', in Carandini and Panella (eds.) 1973, p. 569-570

- 22 cf. Frank (T), ESAR 171; White K.D., Roman farming (1970), p. 391; Duncan-Jones, The Economy of the Roman Empire, London, 1974-77, p. 33 n. 4
- 23 Caesar, Bell. Afr. 97; Plutarch, Caesar, 55
- 24 cf. Herodotus, IV, 181, 182, 183; Strabo, XVII; Pliny, XXXVII, 10, Solinus, 138, Ptolemy, 1,8,4
- 25 Gsell, S., Anc. Hist. IV, 1920., p.3.
- 26 Romanelli (P), 'La economia della Tripolitania Romana ...etc' in Riv. Col. Ital. ann. iii, Num. (6-7) (Roma, 1929) VII, p. 538-39
- 27 Chap. VI (above)
- 28 cf. Mela, 1, 4, 8
- 29 Tac. Hist. IV, 50; Aurel. Vict. loc. cit.; Ch. iii (above)
- 30 Oates D., op. cit., p. 110
- 31 Goodchild, R.G. "Farming in Roman Libya", The Geographical Magazine, XXV, 1952 p. 75; From their study of the African Asnam in general and Tripolitania in particular I.L. Myres and A. Evans concluded that these Asnam belonged to the Roman period and only a few could be pre-Roman but some prior to the IV century B.C.
- 32 Oates (D), op. cit., p. 111, 'cities emulated each other in building public baths, whose numbers and splendour were becoming the gauge of cities' greatness'(ibid).
- 33 Goodchild R.G., in the Geogr. Mag., XXV, 1952a, p. 76
- 34 Pliny, N.H.V. 31; El-Bakri, loc. cit.
- 35 Di Giovanni, vol. 2, p. 67
- 36 Gsell (S), Hist. Anc., vol. 1, p. 112
- 37 Goodchild, 1952a, loc. cit.
- 38 Bartoccini (R), Atti., 1, Congr. St. Rom., vol. 1, p.202 ff; these places are Cinyps, Misallata, and wadis Nfed, Girza (ibid)
- 39 Oates D., op. cit., p. 112
- 40 C.I.L., XV, 2233, 3382-87; also Egypt was a market for the African oil during this period. (A.C. Johnson, An economic survey of ancient Rome, II, p. 352).

- 41 Panella C., loc. cit.
- 42 Romanelli P., Lencis Magna, p. 26 n.1; Cf. C.I.L., VIII, p.913.
- 43 Bell. Afr. 97
- 44 idem.
- 45 Aurelius Vict. 41 uses the word 'Tripolis' and probably this indicates the participation of Sabratha and Oea in paying this heavy tribute.
- 46 Oates (D), op. cit., p. 111; Neo-punic, No. 6
- 47 Oates (D), PBSR, XXI, p. 112
- 48 Romanelli, (P), 'La vita agricola ^{di} Tripolitania attraverso le rappresentazioni figurate' in Afr. Ital. t. 3, (1930), p. 53 ff.
- 49 The Oxford Classical Dictionary, Oxford (1950), p. 925
- 50 Juvenal Sat. V, 119
- 51 Pliny N.H. XV, 8
- 52 Strabo, XVII, 3, 20 ; Coster Ch. H., 'The economic position of Cyrenaica in classical times' in Studies in Roman economic and social history, London, 1951, p. 19
- 53 Apuleius, Apology, XCIII, 4
- 54 Aurigemma (S) I Mosaici di Zliten, loc. cit.
- 55 Romanelli (P), in Afr. Ital., t. 3, (1930), loc. cit.
- 56 Amm. Marc., XXVIII, 6, 13 'Praedas, quas antehac reliquerant, avexerant, arboribus exsectis et vitibus' cf. Pliny, NH. XVII, 22, 185; pseudo Scylax, parag. 108
- 57 Suetonius, Dom. 7.2; cf. 14.2
- 58 Cicero, de Repub., 3. 16
- 59 Philostratus, VS, 521
- 60 Pliny, N.H. XV, 8; Sall., Bell. Iug., 'ager frugum fertilis' (ibid).
- 61 Pliny N.H. 18, 66; Josephus, Bell. Iud. 2. 383-5; Rickman; The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1980, idem p. 231, Append. 4

- 62 e.g., Horace, Odes, 1, 1, 10, Juvenal, Sat, VIII, 117-8;
cf. Tac. Ann. XII, 43
- 63 Hist. 1, 73; ibid. iii, 48
- 64 H.A., Vit. Sev. 8
- 65 Rostovtzeff M., SEHRE 2, p. 599-601; Broughton, op. cit.
p. 111
- 66 Rickman G., op. cit., p. 259 ff. e.g., at the time of
Nero, the coins carry a beautiful and elaborate composition,
illustrating Ceres, the presiding goddess, with annona,
the spirit of corn harvest. The ships-stern symbolises the
importance of corn from overseas (ibid. p. 260-1)
- 67 Tac. Ann. 2. 87
- 68 Suet. Tib. 34
- 69 Gaius, Inst. 1. 32 C; Ulpian 111. 6; Tac. Ann. 13. 51
- 70 C.I.L. XIV. 4319 (Claudius' law); Suet. 18; cf. Geoffrey
Rickman, 'The grain trade under the Roman empire' in
Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol, XXXVI,
1980 = MAAR, p. 261 ff
- 71 Suet. Claud. 18
- 72 SHA, Vit. Commodi 17.7; cf. Rostovtzeff M, SEHRE,
p. 595 n.4
- 73 AE 1973. 126 (dated May 12, A.D. 179); cf. George W. Huston
'The administration of Italian seaports during the first
three centuries of the Roman empire' in MAAR, XXXVI, 1980,
p. 158-60
- 74 ibid
- 75 Cod. Theod. 13. 5. 6
- 76 idem. 11. 1. 2; 7. 4; 11. 30. 4.; Rickman G., op. cit.
p. 112
- 77 For grain famine, see Rostovtzeff (M), SEHRE 2, p. 599-601;
MacMullen R, Enemies of the Roman Order (1967), 249-54
- 78 Josephus, Bell. Iud. ii. 383; cf. Cardinali, G.,
'Frumentatio ...' in Dizionario epigraphico, iii, p.304-9;
G. Rickman (op. cit. p. 234-235) believes that the African
contribution, from the late first century A.D., was more than
the 27 million modii recorded in Historia Augusta (Vit.
Sev. 23.2)

- 79 Goodchild R.G., in The Geogr. Mag., loc. cit.
- 80 C.I.L. VI, 1620, (dedication to the prefect of the annona by "the african grain and oil merchants". (at Rome 2nd cent. A.D.); C.I.L., ii, 1180 "prefect of the annona for the estimating of the Spanish and African oil" (2nd cen. A.D.); C.I.L., XIV, 4142 (at Ostia); "dedication from the masters of all African ships to the grain merchant".
- 81 Bell. Afr. 97; Aurel. Vict. 41; also the exports of oil from Lepcis Magna are attested by fragments of jars found near the Tiber river in Rome, (C.I.L., XV, 33682-5)
- 82 Julien Ch., op. cit., p. 227
- 83 Pliny N.H. XVIII, 63
- 84 Frank (T), op. cit., p. 43
- 85 Bell. Afr. 97
- 86 IRT., 315 (a); 432; IRT., p. 9; Dio LXXVIII, 905 (5th inheritance on Roman citizens); cf. Mattingly (H), Roman imperial civilization London, 1967, p. 186; above Ch. VII
- 87 Chap. iii (above) n. 399
- 88 Herodian VII. 4. 3-6
- 89 Haynes, op. cit., p. 15
- 90 Cod. Theod. 13, 5, 10; cf. Pliny, NH., 16, 197 (fine cedar wood from Africa); Gsell (S), Anc. Hist., p. 139-40
- 91 Tertullian, De Anima, XXX.3
- 92 cf. Herodotus, loc. cit.; Ps-Scylax, loc. cit.
- 93 Apuleius, Apol. 93, 4
- 94 Calza G., "Il piazzale della corporazioni delle funzione commerciale di Ostia" in Bull. Arch. Comm. XLIII 1915, p. 178 ff
- 95 Abdel-Hakem, in Journal Asiatique, 1844, ii, p. 358
- 96 D'Escurac (P), 'Pour une étude sociale de l'apologie d'Apuleius' in Antiquities africaines, VII (1974), p. 92
- 97 Romanelli (P), in Afr. Ital. III (1930), p. 73

- 98 Procopius, de Bello Vandalico, II, 6, 7
As a matter of fact wheat and barley are still the main elements of food in Libya.
- 99 Chap. VIII n. 1186
- 100 Oates D., op. cit., p. 112; el-Bakri, Description de l'Afrique, p. 25
- 101 Brogan (O), 'The Roman frontier settlement at Girza: An interim report', in JRS, XLVII, 1957, p. 175; cf. GJ CXV, 1950, p. 164
- 102 Pliny NH. XIII. 3 "Nunc ad funes vitibumque nexus et capitium levia umbacula finduntur"; cf. ibid. 24
- 103 Pliny NH. XIII. 4
- 104 Mela I, 8 An intoxicant is made by fermenting the sap of the tree itself ... and called by the Libyans laghbi.
- 105 On the uses of this tree, see Bates (O), op. cit., p.26-27
- 106 cf. Herodotus, IV, 172-182 (dates of Augila; ibid. 192; Mela, I, 8 (wool and skins for clothing); Gsell (S), Anc. Hist., 1, p. 87
- 107 Goodchild R.G., in the Geogr. Mag., 1952a, loc. cit.
- 108 Frontinus, Corp. agrim. rom. 1.53
- 109 D'Escurac (P) op. cit., p. 92
- 110 Goodchild, R.G., Geog. Mag., 1952a, loc. cit.
- 111 Brogan (O), in JRS, XLVII, 1957, p. 175; cf. Reynolds J., 'inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania', in PBSR, XXIII, (1955), p. 139. An inscription on a tombstone on which the funerary sacrifices were recorded as 51 bulls and 30 goats (ibid.).
- 112 The letters of Synesius of Cyrene, transl. by Fitzgerald, London 1926, 130, 148
- 113 Apuleius, Apology, 93, 4; ibid. 72, 6
- 114 Aurigemma (S), I mosaici di Zliten, 1925, p. 48
- 115 cf. Oates (D)., op. cit., p. 112
- 116 IRT. p. 9, 10

- 117 Apuleius, loc. cit.
- 118 Romanelli P., "The economy of the Roman Tripolitania" in Riv. Del. Col. Ital., an. III, Num. 6-7 (1929) VII, p. 545
- 119 Aurigemma S., I mosaici di Zliten, op. cit. p.278; Romanelli, P., in Not. Arch. Roma, 1917; I, Fasc. 30, p. 226; Bartoccini R., in Afr. Ital. II, p. 95 ff. (Villa Gorgi in Tripoli).
- 120 In Libya Antiqua, I, 1964, p. 15-17
- 121 Di Vita (A), 'La villa della 'Gara delle negriedi', presso Tagiura', in Libya Antiqua suppl. 11, 1966, pp. 46-61
- 122 Dunbabin K.M.D., The mosaics of Roman North Africa, Oxford, 1978, p. 237
- 123 Prêcheur, (Th), La vie rural en afrique romaine, Tunis, p.40
- 124 Romanelli (P), 'L'arte della Tripolitania Romana' in Rass. d'art. Art. e Mod., Giugno, 1921
- 125 Herodotus II, 32
- 126 De dipsadibus, 2
- 127 Apol. LXXII, 5... 'propter Syrtis aestus et bestias' (ibid)
- 128 Herodotus, IV, 172; 182 (Nasamones); Ps-Scylax, 109 (Macaë).
- 129 Reynolds J., in PBSR XXIII (1955), 139 S. 22
- 130 Aurigemma (S), I mosaici di Zliten, loc. cit.
- 131 Apul., Apol. CXIII, 4; also in the western parts of Roman Africa the Carthaginians had successfully raised horses, cows, sheep and goats (Polybius XII, 3, 3; Strabo XVII, 3, 19; Gsell; Anc. Hist. IV, p. 37-44) other animals were also raised (Sallust, Bell. Iug. XLIV, 5); Bell. Afr. XXVI, 6 mentions cattle.
- 132 Birds and ostriches are depicted in the mosaic of Zliten (Aurigemma, art. cit.)
In addition to the mosaics of Zliten, the possible evidence of domestication of the ostrich is the appearance of its eggs among other Libyan tributes in a tell-el-Amarna painting (N. De G. Davies, The rock tombs of El-Amarna Pl. IX London, 1903 cf. Romanelli, P., AI 3, (1930), 67.
- 133 Mela, I, 8
- 134 Oates (D), op. cit., p. 112

- 135 Mela I, 8, "cibus est caro plurimum ferina, nam gregibus quia id solum opimum est, quod potest parcatum" (ibid)
- 136 Strabo XVII, 3, 18
- 137 Herodotus IV, 172
- 138 E. de la Primaudaie, le littorale de la Tripolitaine, p.133
- 139 Reynolds J., in PBSR, XXIII (1955) p. 139
- 140 Tac., Hist. IV, 50, Pliny, NH. V. 38
- 141 cf. Ps-Syclax, 109 Even today raising animals is widely practised.
- 142 op. cit., p. 50, this is still also the same in Tripolitania
- 143 Apol. 93, 4
- 144 Apuleius, Apol. 71. 77
- 145 ibid., 43-5; 87; 44
- 146 ibid. 71
- 147 Gsell S., 'Esclaves ruraux dans l'Afrique romaine' in Melanges Gustave Glotz, t. 1 Paris, (1932), p. 399.
The toll paid on each slave according to Zará list (C.I.L. VIII, 4500) was 1½ Denarii.
- 148 C.I.L., VIII, 23956, 1.14 (Henshir Snuber); Grasso (F), Pretium servi ex forma censoria, Hommages a Marcel Renard Coll. Latomus, t. 102, II, (1969), p. 302
- 149 Art. cit., p. 92
- 150 The economy of the Roman Empire, (1974), p. 347-48
- 151 Escurac, Art. cit., p. 95
- 152 Apul, Apol. LXX, 6; Hereditatem summa industria auxisse (ibid); Ibid. 101,6
- 153 C.I.L., VIII, 11814
- 154 Aurigemma (S), "Aspetti ..." art. cit.; Chap. VII, cf. Frank (T), op. cit. p. 74
- 155 Duncan-Jones, op. cit., p. 67, 68, 75

- 156 Tac. Ann., XII, 43
- 157 cf. Della Cella, P., Viaggio da Tripoli da Barberia alla Frontiere all'Egitto (1919), p. 98-182; Goodchild R.G., in the Geogr. Mag. op. cit., 1952; Brogan, O., in JRS, XLVII, 1957, p. 175 ff; Haynes, op. cit., p. 152; Oates (D), PBSR XXI, p. 81
- 158 cf. Brogan O., in JRS, XLVII, 1957, p. 175
- 159 Goodchild R.G., in the Geogr. Mag., XXV, 1952, p. 76
- 160 Di Giovanni, op. cit., 2, p. 74
- 161 Columella III, 2
- 162 Romanelli P., in Afr. Ital. t. 3, 1930 p. 73
- 163 Pliny NH XVII, 41
- 164 Goodchild R.G., "Oasis forts of legio III Augusta on the routes to Fezzan" in PBSR, XXII = Libyan Studies, 1976, p. 46 ff; Broughton, op. cit., p. 117
- 165 Gsell S., Anc. Hist. IV, p. 140; ibid. la Tripolit. et le Sahara, p. 11; Aurigemma S., I Mosaici di Zliten, p. 273; pace. nel Sahara Italiana vol 11, p. 294 ff; Rostovtzeff M., SEHRE, Vol 1 Oxford, 1957, p. 385
- 166 Pliny NH. V, 5, 34; ibid. XXXVII, 25, 92; this stone was called 'Carthaginian stones' Strabo (XVII, 3.18) and Anthrax by Theophrastus (Frag. ii.3)
- 167 Pliny NH. XXXVII, 67; Solinus, 2, 43
- 168 Pliny XXXVIII, 37
- 169 Romanelli (P), 'Iscrizione Tripolitana che ricorda un offerta di denti di avorio', Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei lincei XXIX (1920) p. 376-383
- 170 Calza G., Bull. Comm. Arch. 1915, p. 178 ff; cf. Aurigemma S., Afr. Ital. VII, 1940, p. 67-86
- 171 Aurigemma (S), 'L'elefante di Leptis Magna', in Rivista Africa Italiana, VII (1940), p. 67 ff.
- 172 Not. d. Scavi, (1953), p. 276; Brogan, O., 'The camel in Roman Tripolitania' PBSR, XXII, 1954, p. 128 n. 26
- 173 Aurigemma (S), 'Aspetti della vita publica et privata ..etc' in Estratto della Rivista Roma, 1940 - XVIII, Fasc. Iuglio., p. 18

- 174 Cambridge Hist. of Africa, op. cit., p. 239
- 175 Rostovtzeff (M), SEHRE, p.335-38; IRT 603.
- 176 Aurigemma (S), "Aspetti ... etc" in Estratto della Rivista Roma, Loc. cit., Aurigemma, I Mosaici di Zliten, p. 84, 88, 89, 91, fig. 50, 54, 55, 57.
- 177 cf. Aurigemma, "Aspetti", art. cit. p. 18
- 178 Bovill, E.W., The golden trade of the Moors, (2 ed., Oxford, 1968), p. 45
- 179 Herodotus, IV. 181, 182, 183, Pliny XXXI.7
- 180 Rivista della Tripolitana, II, 1925-26, p. 6
- 181 cf. Pliny, NH. XXXII, 2, 18; Strabo, XVII, 16-17, 18
- 182 Perroud, C., op. cit., 145; Herodotus describes the way in which the slaves were captured. (ibid. IV, 183); Apul. Apol. 93 (Pudentilla)
- 183 III, 14
- 184 Ptolemy, I, 8, 4
- 185 Bates (O), op. cit., p. 101; ostrich eggs were found in the tombs of the Etruscans in Italy. (See J. Martina, L'art Etrusque, p. 106) Also ostrich eggs were exported from Cyrenaica (Synesius, op. cit., p. 129); cf. Rostovtzeff (M), SEHRE, 2 ed. (1957), vol. I, p. 335
- 186 E. de la Primaudaie, loc. cit. ; cf. Bates (O), op. cit., p. 102
- 187 Romanelli (P), Cyrenaica Romana, (1943), p. 29
- 188 Ward-Perkins, "Tripolitania and the marble trade" JRS, XLI, p. 89, 94
- 189 Stat. Silv. 1, 2, 148; 1, 5, 36, IV, 2, 27; Martial VI, 42, 13; Ward-Perkins, op. cit., 96
- 190 IRT 530 (a)
- 191 Ward-Perkins, op. cit., p. 94
- 192 Pace, Caputo, Sergi, Monumenti Antichi XLI (1951), Cols. 151-552; cf. C. Tagart, "The fish beaker from Fezzan" LS, 13 (1982) pp.81-84.
- 193 Pliny, NH. V, 38; Tac. Hist. IV, 50.

- 194 Marinus Tyrius ap. Ptolemy, i.8. 4-5
- 195 Wheeler, M., op. cit., p. 105
- 196 Pace, Caputo, art. cit.
- 197 Brogan, O., PBSR, XXII, p. 128
- 198 Wheeler ibid. p. 103
- 199 Duveyrier, H., les Touareg du Nord, Paris, (1864), p. 25a
- 200 cf. Diodorus III. 49. 3; Silius Italicus, Punica, III. 320 ff.
- 201 C.I.L., XIV, 4549, this inscription is following the version "Naviculari ... Sabrathensium" the shippers of Sabratha have their office here"; cf. Calza (G), in Bulletino della commissione, XLIII, (1916), p. 178-206 There is abundant evidence for the involvement of some men from Tripolitania in trade, (C.I.L. VIII, 1684) a dedication by the Oeenses at Puteoli. Also the "Sabrathenses ex Africa" dedicated a statue to Sabina, Hadrian's wife Not. d. Scavi, I, (1933), p. 432-33
- 202 cf. Goodchild R.G., 'The Roman Roads', loc. cit.; Romanelli, P., Storia, 1959, loc. cit., the three main caravan routes are (a) Lepcis - Bungem - Hun - Sebha - Garama (b) Oea - Mizda - El-Gheiriat (c) Sabratha - Cydamae - Garama
- 203 cf. Perroud (C), op. cit., p. 143
- 204 See e.g. E.F. Gautier, Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs (Paris, 1952), 177-96; S. Gsell, 'La Tripolitaine et le Sahara au IIIe siècle de notre ère', Memoires de l'Academie d'inscriptions et belles lettres, 1926, 43, 149-66; E.W. Bovill, 'The camel and the Garamantes', Antiquity, 1956, 30, 19-21; Brogan, O., 'The camel in Roman Tripolitania', PBSR, XXII, 1954, p. 126-31; for discussion and balanced assessment see Cambridge Hist. of Africa, p. 289-90
- 205 e.g. Brogan, O., in PBSR, XXII, p. 131
- 206 Bell. Afr. LXVIII, 4.; Not. d. Scavi., 1953, p. 276; Brogan, O., PBSR, XXII, p. 128 n.3
- 207 Gsell, S., (Anc. Hist. de Afr. du Nord, Paris, 1920, IV, p.3) is inclined to assume a somewhat earlier introduction of the camel, and to support his assumption he attributed the growth of Lepcis to the trans-saharan trade and not to the favour of her prominent son, Septimius Severus. (cf. Gsell, S.,

- in Mem. Acad. Inscr. XLIII (1933), 149-66
- 208 Merighi (A), op. cit., 2, p. 215
- 209 Amm. Marc. XXVIII. 6.5.
- 210 Gautier E.F., op. cit., p. 208-9
- 211 Bovill, E.W., op. cit. p. 36-44
Cambridge History of Africa, vol. 2, loc. cit.
- 212 cf. Gsell (S), 'La Tripolitaine et le Sahara etc...' artic. cit., (1933), p. 149-166
- 213 Constans L.A., Rapport sur une mission archéologique a Bou-Ghara (Gipthis), (1914 et 1915), in Nouv. Arch. des Miss., nouv. Se., Paris, XIV, 1916, p. 69
- 214 Gsell S., Anc Hist. VII, p. 105-6; Haynes, op. cit., p.53
- 215 Arthur P., 'Amphora Production in the Tripolitanian Gebel' LS 13(1982) 61-72.
- 216 ibid.
- 217 Pliny, XXXII, 2, 18; Strabo, XVII, 16-17, 18, Strabo, XVII.3. 18; cf. Frank, T., op. cit., p. 51 n.6
- 218 Apol. XLII, 2
- 219 Apol. XXIX, 1 '.... nonnulla me piscium genera per quosdam piscatores pretio quaesisse'.
- 220 Apol. XXXIII, 3; XL, 5
- 221 Pliny, loc. cit.; above n. 1269
- 222 Collella G., La Tripolit. e la Cirenaica attraverso i secoli (Bari, 1912), p. 35
- 223 Mart., VII, 95; VIII, 51, 11; XIV, 140, cf. Tissot, op. cit., 1, p. 286
- 224 Mart., XCV. VII. CXL. XIII; cf. Vergil, Geog.iii, 312
- 225 This is in spite of the fact that the African cloth was the only product which enjoyed international reputation, (cf. Frank, T., op. cit., p. 72)
- 226 AE 1915, 44

- 227 HA. vit. Claud. 14, 8; Not. Dig. ii, 49. "procurator Bafi Girbitani provinciae Tripolitanae"
- 228 P.E. 19, 15; 19, 72; 19, 68; 19, 61
- 229 cf. Despois J., Le Djebel amour (1957), p.67-71
- 230 Frank, T., op. cit; p. 24
- 231 El Johari, Y.A., op. cit., p. 164
- 232 Jones, A.H.M., The Roman economy (P.A. Brunt ed.) (1974), p. 848
- 233 Fentress, op. cit, p. 185
- 234 cf. Gsell, S., Anc. Hist., VII, p. 105-6
- 235 Gsell, S., Anc. Hist., 1920, IV, p. 3
- 236 Apul. Apology. 93, 4
- 237 Romanelli (P), in Riv. del. col. Ital. VIII (1929) p. 550-51
- 238 ibid.
- 239 contra Cohen A. (in Merighi, op. cit., 2, p. 218) who sought to reduce the region's economic sources to "a little oil" and to nothing else. (ibid).
- 240 For the wealth and prosperity of the Tripolitanian cities see (a) Lepcis Magna: Gsell S., Anc. Hist. (1920), IV, p. 3., idem., in Mem. Acad. Inscr. XLIII (1933), 149-66
(b) Oea: Apul. Apol. 93
(c) Sabratha: Bartoccini R., Guida di Sabratha; Paribeni, R., "Chi scavi di Lepcis Magna e di Sabratha" in Dedalo, IV (1924-25), p. 665-88
- 241 Joseph Vogt, The decline of Rome - the metamorphosis of ancient civilization (transl. from German by Janet Sondheim) Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1967, p.26; cf. S.I.G., 3 ed. no 888; Herodian, 7, 4-9.
- 242 C.I.L., XIV, 3593; Dessau, vol. 1, 1185; PIR² C 1180; cf. Romanelli, P., in Rend. della R. Accad. dei Lincei, (1924), p. 253

CHAPTER IX

- 1 Müller L., Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique, Copenhagen, (1880), p. 2ff.
- 2 See Appendix 2 (below).
- 3 Ibid., II, p. 9 ff
- 4 Aurel. Vict., 20, 8; HA., Vit. Sev. XV, 7; Sall. Bell. Iug., 78
- 5 Apul. Apol. 98
- 6 Bartoccini (R), 'Le antichità della Tripolitania', Egyptus, VII, (1926), p. 61-4
- 7 Bell. Iug., 78
- 8 Di Vita (A), Il 'limes' Romano di Tripolitania', Libya Antiqua, 1, 1964, p. 65
- 9 Silvae, IV. 5
- 10 HA. Vit. Sev., XV. 5; Apul. Apol. 98.8 The Emperor Septimius Severus orders his sister to return to Leptis Magna quickly after a short visit to him in Rome because she does not know Latin and she spoke only Punic. (H.A. Sev. loc. cit)
- 11 Apuleius, Apol., 98; Broughton, Romanisation, 1929, p.132; Millar, F., "Local cultures in The Roman Empire", JRS, 58, (1968), p. 130
- 12 Di Giovanni, op. cit., 1, p. 28
- 13 Millar, F., 1968, loc. cit.
- 14 ibid. p. 133; Apul. Apol. 98
- 15 C. Courtois, 'Saint Augustine et le probleme de la survivance du punique', dans Revue Africaine, t. 94, (1950), p. 270, he mentions that Punic disappeared later from the inscriptions during the second century (ibid., p. 269, n. 25); cf. the criticism of Courtois article by Ch. Saumagne, "Le survivance du punique en Afrique V and VI siecles apres J.C.' dans Karthago, t. 4, (1953), p. 169-178.
- 16 Gascou J., La politique municipale de l'Empire romaine, 1972, p. 51
- 17 Elmayer A, LS 14 (1983) 86-96
- 18 Millar F., 1968, art. cit., p.120.
- 19 ibid., p. 128

- 20 Romanelli (P), in Libya in History, 1968,
p. 134-35.
- 21 *ibid.*
- 22 Elmayar A, Loc. cit.
- 23 Millar F., (JRS, 58, 1968, p. 132) mentions that at Lepcis
Magna Neo-punic inscriptions (paralleling Latin texts)
appear for the last time under Domitian (*ibid.*); cf. IRT. 318, 349a
- 24 Appendix 1, these inscriptions date from 1st to 3rd century
A.D.
- 25 Millar F., 'Local culture', loc. cit.
- 26 Romanelli p., LIH, p. 136-37
- 27 André E. and Janine, The general history of civilizations,
(transl. into Arabic by J. Dagher), 1964, p. 462
- 28 Ward-Perkins, J.B., 'Pre-roman elements in the architecture
of Roman Tripolitania' in L.I.H., 1968, p. 103
- 29 Elmayar A., Loc. cit; Appendix, 2 (below)
- 30 Millar F., JRS, 58, 1968, 133
- 31 Gsell (S), Hist. Anc. II, p. 22, n. 1; Aurigemma (S),
'Iscrizioni latino-neopuniche presso il forte del faro in
Tripoli, Notizario Arch., 11, (1916), pp. 382-393;
Bartoccini (R), 'Rinvenimenti vari di interesse archaeologico,
in Afr. Ital., 1, (1927), p. 217
-
- 32 Romanelli, P, L.I.H., op. cit., p. 134-35
- 33 Aurel. Vict. Epit. XX, 7
- 34 HA., Vit. Sev., 19
- 35 Levi della Vida, Riv. Trip. iii, (1927), p. 91-2
- 36 Besides HA and Aurelius Victor, who made mention of the
family of Severi to whom this language was familiar (See
Chap V), Arnobius (A.D.c/260) according to whom the Punic
was still used by the Garamantes (Arnobius, Comm. ad.
psalm. 104; Movers, Die Phonizier, ii, 2, p. 476 n. 60)
Also S. Augustine (epist. CCIX, 3) mentions that in his time,
Christian communities prayed and were taught in Punic.
- 37 Levi della Vida, 1927, p.114 ff.

- 38 Regarding the religion, it is known that all the principal Phoenician divinities, Baal, Tanit, Helios, Selene, who passed from simple symbols to the form of human images, were adored and venerated until late in the epoch (cf Tertull., Apolog., 10). On the religion in Africa, see Toutain, "les cités" p. 214. Concerning the institutions, the organization and administration in Roman Tripolitania, see Chap. VII. (above)
- 39 'The latino-libyan inscriptions of Tripolitania', in Antiquaries Journal XXX (1950), p. 135, 143
- 40 Gascou, op. cit., p. 51 "En Tripolitaine, un punique attardi, transcrit en caractères latins, j'est même conservé tardivement dans l'épigraphie les inscriptions "latinolibyques" de la Tripolitaine sont en realite des inscriptions "latino-puniques"; elles apparaisse entre le III^e et le V^e siècles ap. J.C. environ" (ibid); cf. G. Levi della Vida, "Sulle iscrizioni "latino-libiche" della Tripolitania", in Oriens Antiquus, t. 3. 1963, p. 65, 94; A. Di Vita, Il "limes" Romano di Tripolitania in Libya Antiqua, 1, (1964), p. 78
- 41 Millar F., JRS, 58, 1968, p. 132
- 42 Goodshild, art. cit., in Antiq. Journ., XXX (1950) 143; Millar F., art. cit., JRS, (1968) LVIII, p. 133
- 43 Julien Ch., op. cit., p. 248
- 44 ibid.
- 45 Elmayar A., op. cit., p. 92-93
- 46 Merighi, op. cit., ii, p. 4
- 47 Duveyrier, (Recherches des antiquités, p. 54 ff) and Faidherbe (Collections complète des inscriptions numidiques (libyques) avec des aperçus ethnographiques sur les numides, Paris, 1870; cf. Fresnel F., 'Inscriptions trilingues trouvees en Mai 1846 a Lebda (Leptis Magna), in Journ. asiat. Ser. IV, vol., VIII, 1846, p. 349 ff). Libyan alphabets are derived from Punic and they are still used by the people of the Sahara. (Merighi, op. cit. p. 4 n. 1)
- 48 cf. Goodchild R.G., in Antiquaries Journal, XXX (1950) p. 135; Gascou, op. cit., p. 51
- 49 Julien Ch., op. cit., p. 248
- 50 Safer, A, The civilization of the Maghreb (Arabic ed.) (1976), p. 358 ff

- 51 Apul. Flor. 18. 15; Juvenal, VII, 148
- 52 Apul. Flor. 18. 15-16, 36; 26. 9-10
- 53 T. Barnes, Tertullian, a historical and literary study, 1971, p. 243-45
- 54 ibid., p. 194
- 55 C.I.L., VIII, 2924
- 56 Augustine, Confessiones, 11.3; 111.1; V.8
- 57 P. Brown, Augustine of Hippo (1967), p. 65 ff
- 58 Barnes, T., op. cit., p. 195
- 59 Apul. Flor. 18. 15; Bouchier, op. cit., p. 32
- 60 Julien Ch., op. cit., p. 248
- 61 Tertullian, De praesc. Har 39
- 62 Apuleius, Apol. hinted that his ignorant opponent had not read him; Florus discussed Vergil as a poet or orator; cf. J. Lassere, op. cit., p. 220 ff
- 63 Augustine, Confessiones, 1, 14
- 64 C.I.L., VIII, 724
- 65 S. Augustine, Conf. 111.6
- 66 Apul. Flor. XIX; cf. Florentinus, 32; HA. Vit. Sev. 1.5; Romanelli P., Lepcis Magna, p. 20-21; Birley A., Septimius Severus, p. 69-70
- 67 Aur. Vict. 20.5
- 68 Apul. Apol. 5.1
- 69 Champlin E.J., Fronto and Antonine Rome, 1982
- 70 C.I.L., VIII, 5528-29
- 71 ILAlg. 1. 288; C.I.L., VIII, 2469, PIRZ, A, 60, ILAf, 325
- 72 Apul. Flor. 18. 15-16, 36
- 73 C.I.L., VIII, 18864
- 74 Statius, Silvae, 4.5.57 ff; Vergilius, Orator and poeta, 1.3 ff; Apul. Apol. 6 ff; C.I.L., ii, 2660

- 75 Juvenal, VII, 148
- 76 HA. Vit. Sev. 1.5; Birley A., op. cit., p. 69-70
- 77 Statius, Silvae, IV, 5, 49
- 78 Bouchier, op. cit., p. 35
- 79 Romanelli (P), Lepcis Magna, 20, 21; Monceaux, P., Les Africains - etude sur litterature latine d'Afrique Paris, 1894, p. 186 ff; cf. Oxford Dictionary (1978), p. 292
- 80 Monceaux P., Les africains, p. 186
- 81 Romanelli P., Lepcis Magna, p. 23
- 82 ^u Alus Gellius, N.A., 16. 13. 4; above Ch. VII
- 83 Merighi A., op. cit. ii, pp. 35-36
- 84 Barton, I., op. cit., p. 59
- 85 Boissier G., L'Afrique Romaine, p. 324
- 86 Lepcis Magna, op. cit., p. 23
- 87 Merighi (A), op. cit., ii, p. 36
- 88 Adv. Iov., 1, 48 (Patrol. lat., vol. 23, col. 279); Romanelli, Lepcis Magna, p. 23 St Jerome mentioned that there was a tradition in Lepcis, the gist of which was that on the second day of the marriage the bride asks her mother in law to give her the large water-jar, but the latter usually refuses that. (ibid.)
- 89 Regarding these invasions see Amm., XXVIII, 6; 1, cf. Romanelli, Lepcis Magna, p. 28 ff
- 90 Julien, Ch., loc. cit.
- 91 In the classics there recur very unflattering judgements on the character of Libyans and Africans in general: 'vulgus uti plerumque solet, et maxime numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum nouarum rerum, quieti et otiis advorsum' (Sall., Iug., 66); of the Africans in general Livy says: 'Barbari, quibus ex fortuna pendet fides; Afri, gens ad Omnem duram spei mobilis atque infida; Polybius and Procopius repeat the same thing; (cf. Merighi, op. cit., 11, p. 42 n.1; Romanelli, 'Guerra e politica dei Romani nella Africa', in Libya, 111, (1927), p. 11; Moumsen, Le province romaine, op. cit., p. 460).
- 92 Barton, 1972b , p. 59

- 93 Boissier, L'Afrique Romaine, p. 350 ff
- 94 Barton, op. cit., p. 60
- 95 Elmayar A.F., op. cit., p. 94
- 96 Elmayar A.F., Loc. cit.
- 97 This is known from an inscription in a pedestal of a statue erected in his honour, which has been found in Madauros See Gsell, Inscriptions latines de l'Afrique, Paris, (1927, 1957)
- 98 Apul. Flor. XVIII.15
- 99 Flor. 18. 15; Apul. Apol. 3.5 ff; Actually when he went to Athens, he was able to continue his studies, especially in some subjects like deceptive poetry, limpid geometry, sweet music, austere dialects, most of the 'nectar of philosophy'. (Flor., 20.4)
- 100 Paullu de Lasseret, op. cit., 1, p. 199 ff
- 101 Apul. Apol. 1; 59; cf. Syme R. Rev. et anc. LXI (1959), p. 318
- 102 Bouchier, op. cit., p. 69
- 103 Barnes, op. cit., p. 271. The only datable pieces are Flor. 9 and 17, respectively. 162/3 and 163/4; Syme R., op. cit., p. 316
- 104 Susan R., op. cit., p. 103
- 105 Barton, op. cit., p. 78
- 106 Grant, M., The World of Rome, (1960), p. 232
- 107 Bouchier, op. cit., p. 78-9; Barton, op. cit., p. 65
- 108 Apuleius, Metamorphoses, XVIII (Transl. R. Graves)
- 109 Apuleius, Metamorphoses, IX. 14; XI
- 110 ibid. 1.1; XI. 26
- 111 Barnes, (T), Tertullian, p. 272-73
- 112 Susan (R), op. cit., p. 103
- 113 Eppist. 102. 32; 136.1; 138.18
- 114 Div. Inst. V. 3.7
- 115 Noeldeche, E, Tertullian, (1890), p. 10

- 116 Bel. punica (1892) 111, 256
- 117 Sil. Ital. loc. cit.; J.S. Reid, The Municipalities of the Roman Empire, Cambridge (1913), p. 256, 294
- 118 ibid., p. 295
- 119 Herodotus, V. 42
- 120 The Cinyps region was famous for its fertility (Martial. XCV. VII. CXL. XIV, XII. XIII; cf. Vergil, Geog. iii.312) and that no doubt attracted the Greeks to found their settlement in this region. (Herodotus, loc. cit.).
- 121 Les cités romaines, p. 199 ff
- 122 Lepcis Magna, p. 22 n.2
- 123 Bartoccini R, 'Scavi e rinvenimenti in Tripolitania, fra il 1926 e il 1927', in Afr. Ital. Vol. ii, (1929), p.187
- 124 L. Robert, in Revue des études grecques, (1953), p. 200 ff)
- 125 IRT. 309
- 126 IRT. 310-313
- 127 Benabou, M. op. cit., p. 543
- 128 IRT. 656
- 129 IRT. 747
- 130 IRT. 718; IRT. 669
- 131 IRT. 738
- 132 IRT. 654-655
- 133 The Latin texts are in C.I.L., VIII, 15-16 - the Greek texts are in: Inscriptions graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, 1, 937-938 - the Punic text in Rivista della Tripolitania iii, 95; on the use of Greek, by doctors, see the observations by L. Robert, Revue des études graeques, (1953), p. 202
- 134 IRT. 690 cf. M. Guarducci, in Epigraphica X, (1948), p. 74-80 L. Robert, op. cit. 1953, p. 210, suggests that the name should read pki(o)s But Guarducci believes it to be Cretan while Robert thinks it is Alexandrian.
- 135 Benabou, op. cit., p. 544
- 136 IRT., 749; there are more than ten examples of it in the Supplementum Epigraphicum IX

- 137 J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Tripolitania and the marble trade", JRS, XLIV (1954), p. 94
- 138 IRT., 799-807
- 139 Ward-Perkins, loc. cit.; Benabou, op. cit., p. 545
- 140 Ward-Perkins, 'Severan art and architecture at Lepcis Magna' JRS, XXXVIII, (1948), p. 59, 72; J. Bartoccini, 'L'arco quadrifronte dei Severi', Africa Italiana, IV, 1931, p. 32; E. Vergara Caffarelli, G. Caputo, A. Bianchi Bandinelli, The Buried City; Excavations at Lepcis Magna, 1966
- 141 Benabou, op. cit., p. 546
- 142 ibid.
- 143 ibid.
- 144 ibid., p. 547
- 145 IRT. 292, cf. J. Guey "Lepcitana septimana VI", Revue Africaine XCIV, (1950), p. 55, 66-67
- 146 A. Merlat, Répertoire des inscriptions et Monuments figurés du culte de Jupiter Dolichenus, (1951), p. 277;
- 147 IRT. 437
- 148 Benabou, loc. cit.
- 149 On the Punic influence, A. Camps, 'Aux origines de la Berberie: Massinissa. ou les débuts de l'histoire', Libyca 8 (1960), 258-260
- 150 Bouchier, op. cit., p. 39
- 151 Strabo, 17.3.13; cf. Champlin E.J., op. cit., p. 4
- 152 Bouchier, loc. cit.
- 153 ibid.
- 154 Aug. Conf. 1.13, 14
- 155 Bouchier, op. cit., p. 40; cf. Romanelli p., Lepcis Magna, p. 20; Septimius Severus studied Greek in the Greek school: '... Latinis graecisque litteris, quibus eruditissimus fuit...' (HA. Vit. Sev. XV)
- 156 Kotula (T), 'Vtraque lingua eruditi: une page relative a l'histoire de l'education dans l'Afrique romaine,' Hommages a Marcel Renard. Coll. Latomus, t. 102, II, 1969, p.386-392

- 157 S. Aug., Confessions, I. 13, 14
- 158 Apol. LXXXVII, 5: 'hic, qui epistulam Pudentillae Graecatiorem legere non potuerat' --- (ibid.)
- 159 Apol. LXXXVII, 5: 'Cur praeterea tam vitiosis verbis, tam barbaro sermone ego scriberem, quen iden dicunt nequaquam Graecae linguae imperitum?'
- 160 Apol. XXX, 11
- 161 Apol. LXXXII; ibid 98, 8; cf. Apul. Flor. 18
- 162 Apol. 4, 1-2
- 163 Apol. 22, 3
- 164 Apol. 73, 1
- 165 Apol. 98, 7-8-9
- 166 Apol. 98, 8. 'Loquitur numquam nisi punice'. (ibid.).
- 167 D'Escurac H.P.,
in Antiquites africaines, VIII, (1974), p. 98
- 168 HA. Vit. Sev. 1
- 169 C.I.L., VIII, 17910, 8500, AE 1968, 643; cf. ILAlg. 1.1363, 1364
- 170 Bouchier, op. cit., p. 41
- 171 Barnes, T., Tertullian, p. 68-69; 277; App. 9
- 172 C.I.L., VIII, 15, 16 = IRT 654,655
- 173 C.I.L., VIII, 10997, 10998; amongst the various funerary inscriptions found in the region of Grand Gulf of Syrtis and date to the end of IV century, seven were written in Greek., see Bartoccini R., Afr. Ital. ii, (1929), 187
- 174 cf. Romanelli, 'L'origine del nome "Tripolitania"', in Rend. d. port. Accad. Romana d. Arch., IX, p. 95
- 175 On Greek in Africa, see: Cf. Thieling, W., Der Hellenismus in Kleinafrika. Der griechische Kultureinfluss in den Rom. Provinz en Nordwestafrikas (1911)
- 176 Romanelli, L'origine del nome, loc. cit.
- 177 Worth nothing among the effects of the diffusion of the Greek culture and language, is the attempt of Juba II, who was imbued with the culture to make a Greek city out of his capital Caesarea. Certainly it is due to him in part if the Greek culture had a greater diffusion in Mauretania and other parts of North Africa (above n. 152).

- 178 From the passage of Apuleius (Apology, 30) it is known that Tannonius Pudens, the lawyer of Sicinius Aemilianus, accuser of the presumed magician, did not know Greek: 'Memorasset etiam tibi Theocriti paria et alia Homeri et Orphei plurima et ex comoediis et tragediis graecis et ex historiis multa repetissem, ni te dudum animadvertissem graecam Pudentilla^zepistulam legere nequivisse"
- 179 cf. Aurigemma, 'Mosaici di Leptis", in Afri. Ital., II, 1929, p. 261
- 180 C.I.L. , VIII, 15, 16 = IRT. 654; 655; Neo-punic, 4, 5
- 181 Boissier, L'Afrique Rom., op. cit., VII, ed., p. 348, n.3
- 182 Benabou, op. cit., p. 488 n. 40

Appendix II

1. AI, 1 (1927) pp.232-36.
2. Libya, 3(1927) p.118.
3. AJ, XXX, (1950), pp.135-44.
4. GLECS, X (1965) pp.97-104.
5. MOS, (1976) pp.57-63.
6. Annali del'universitario di Napoli, 16 (1966) pp.39.41.
7. Atti Del 1^o Convegno Italiano sul Vicino oriente Antico, Coll.XIII, Roma (22-24 Aprile, 1976) pp.231-41.
8. F. Vattioni, "Appunti sulle iscrizioni puniche Tripolitane", AION, 16 (1966) 37-55; id, "Note fenicie", AION, 18 (1968), 71-73; M.Szzyrmer, ppp, (1976) pp.146-56.
9. E.g. R. G. Goodchild, AJ, 30(1950)135-144.
10. C.R. Krahmalkov, Orientalia 39 (1970) pp.64-65; Jour. Sem. Stud. 17 (1972 73-; MOS (1976) p.85.
11. Libya, III (1927) p.105.
12. AUG. 16 (1976) p.537.
13. Vattioni (1976) explained this as (H) an (n)o Tap (afius).
14. IRT 880 (from Gsar Duib).
15. This system of praepositi limitis as sectoral Commanders, was introduced into Tripolitania in ^{the} Fourth century A.D. (see chapter 6, p. 120).
16. F. Vattioni suggested that tin could be the transcription of tn, to erect, which is to be seen fairly regularly in the Neo-Punic inscriptions. See DISO 101. This could take its confirmation from N.pun inscription (CISI.1494).
17. See LP.40.6.
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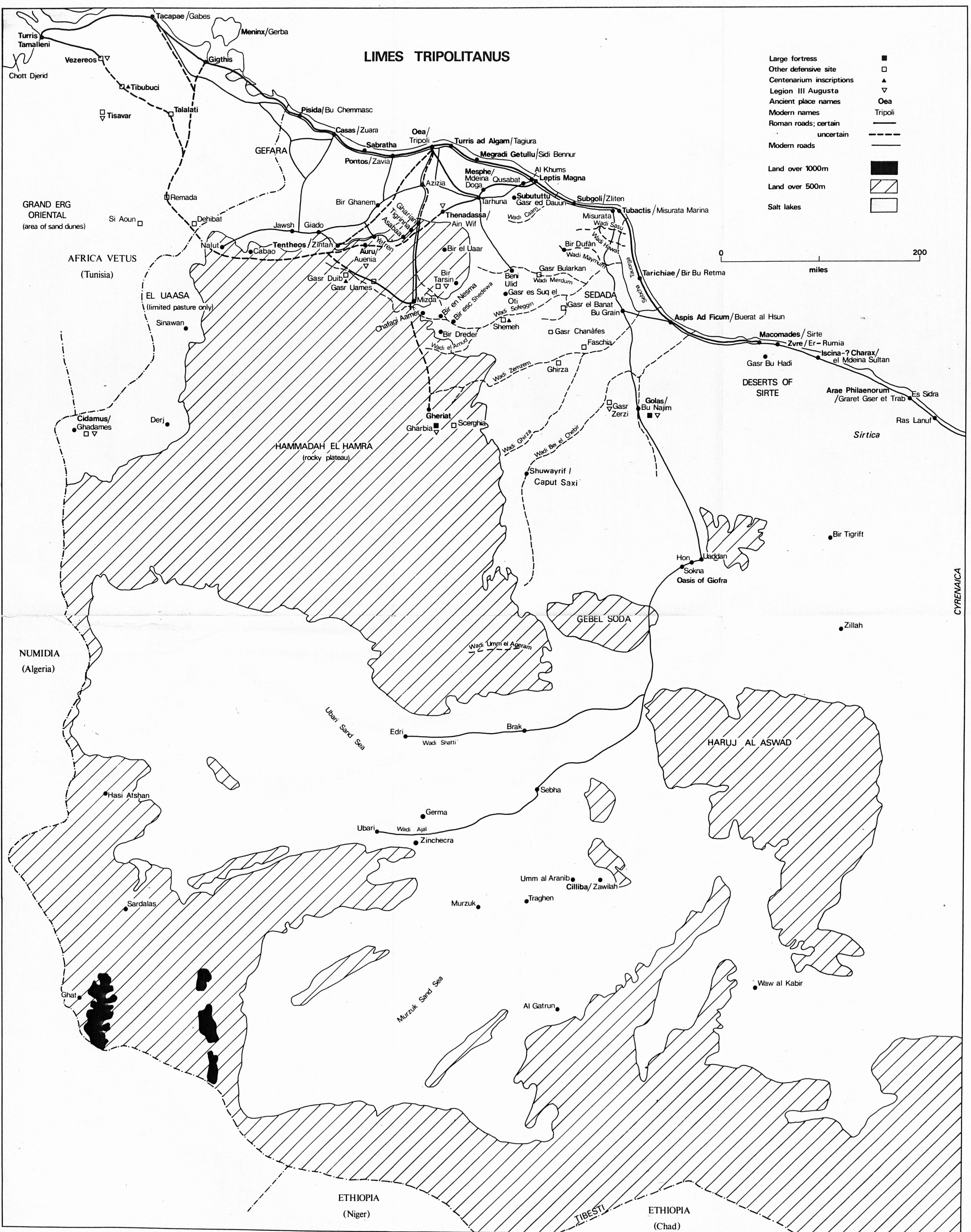
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LIMES TRIPOLITANUS

- Large fortress
- Other defensive site
- Centenarium inscriptions
- Legion III Augusta
- Ancient place names
- Modern names
- Roman roads; certain
- uncertain
- Modern roads
- Land over 1000m
- Land over 500m
- Salt lakes

